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BISHOP BULL'S
WORKS ON THE TRINITY.

VOL. I.

DEFENCE OF THE NICENE CREED.

VOL. I.

BISHOP BULL'S
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VOL. II.

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VOL. III.

JUDGMENT OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH,

&c. &c.

2

WORKS OF THE TRINITY
VOL. III

JUDGMENT OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

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THE
JUDGMENT OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH
ON THE NECESSITY OF BELIEVING THAT
OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST IS VERY GOD;
THE PRIMITIVE AND APOSTOLIC TRADITION
OF THE DOCTRINE CONCERNING
THE DIVINITY OF OUR SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST;
AND
BRIEF ANIMADVERSIONS
ON A TREATISE OF MR. GILBERT CLERKE.

BY
GEORGE BULL, D.D.
A PRIEST OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH,
AFTERWARDS LORD BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S.

✓ A NEW TRANSLATION. }

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VOL. III.
—

OXFORD:
JOHN HENRY PARKER.

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THE JUDGMENT
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IMPRIMATUR.

HENR. ALDRICH, VICE-CAN.

OXON.

Jun. 4, 1694.

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE READER.

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1

WHILE I was occupied some time ago in reading the Theological Institutes of M. Simon Episcopus, after having read through the thirty-fourth chapter of book iv. section 2^a, I put together, for my own private use, or rather sketched the first outline of, an answer to the arguments, by which the learned author in that part of his work endeavoured to prove, that the article touching the divine generation of the Son of God our Saviour, of God the Father, before the worlds¹, was not by any means regarded in the primitive Churches as necessary to be believed in order to salvation; [so far indeed from it,] that those Churches held communion with such as denied that article, and believed and taught that Christ was a mere man, who had no existence before [His birth of] the blessed Virgin. This short answer, however, I not long since, at the request of some friends, drew out more fully, and enlarged by additional matter; adding also three entire chapters, in which I have, if I am not mistaken, clearly refuted the opinion of Episcopus, both by quotations from the primitive fathers, and from ecclesiastical history.

¹ ante sæcula.

I will now briefly state what has induced me to consent to the publication at last of this work, such as it is. During the last few years, there have appeared here in England, several works, whose unprincipled authors have strained every nerve to weaken and to overthrow the most important article² of our faith, whereon certainly Christianity hinges; (I mean the article concerning the Son of God being begotten

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² dogma κυριώτατον.

ADVERTISE-
MENT.

of God the Father Himself before all worlds, very God of very God, by whom all things were made, who for our salvation became incarnate, and was made Man;) some of them boldly defending the Arian, others the Samosatene, blasphemy. Of these it would not be unjust in me to say, what that eminent man Hieronymus Zanchius^b declared of the writings of Lælius Socinus, Francis David, Blandrata, and other heretics of the same stamp, in his own time; "I have read, [said he,] but with great disgust¹, the silly ravings² of these new Arians and Photinians; and this I can declare, that I have met with nothing in their writings, which, to say the least, has any of that acuteness, which often occurs in the works of the ancient heretics. They are all either the old matter³, served up for the hundredth time, or new follies." To prevent, however, the triumph of these vain persons, and the perversion of weak minds from Catholic truth by their arts such as they are⁴, they have been met by the writings of some of our pious and learned countrymen, published on the other side, who certainly on that account have deserved the gratitude and praise of all good men.

¹ stomacho.
² inepta deliria.

³ vetus
κράμβη.

⁴ qualibuscunque
strophis.

2

Meanwhile some have arisen, who have essayed to act the part of mediators, forsooth, and promoters of peace in this controversy, as well as to conciliate and bring together parties most absolutely and utterly dissevered from and opposed to each other, namely, the Catholic Church and heretics; in other words, Christ and Belial. These persons, whilst professing, and I hope sincerely, to hold and believe, as Catholics do, *the truth* of the article respecting the Son of God being of one nature with [the Father], yet do not by any means acknowledge *the necessity* of it: thinking, I suppose⁵, that it is sufficient to salvation, if one believe, any how, in Jesus Christ, [as] the Son of God and Saviour of the human race: and that it is not of much consequence, whether you regard Him as a mere man and a created being, made God and raised to divine honours simply by grace and adoption, or as really, that is by nature, very God. This their opinion they defend by arguments nearly the same as those, which Episcopius employs, and which he borrowed from Socinus. They are loud in their assertion⁶, that the Nicene

⁵ scilicet.

⁶ vociferantur.

^b In the Epistle Dedicatory of his Treatise on the Three Elohim.

Fathers first established the doctrine of the Consubstantiality of the Son, and rashly denounced an anathema against such as thought differently; that the primitive Church, on the contrary, was far more moderate¹, and, as became a most ^{mitiorem.} tender mother, cherished in her bosom even those, who believed, that Christ their Saviour was by nature but a mere man; [an opinion,] which they go on to prove from the Creed called the Apostles', and from a well-known passage in Justin Martyr's Dialogue with Trypho. With such statements almost every page of their books is filled. In the following treatise, however, it has been clearly shewn how little to the point is what they adduce.

But the assertion of Episcopius, to which these writers seem rashly to have given credit, and of which we have undertaken the refutation, is of such a kind as that the man, who is so venturesome as to affirm it, must be considered either not to have passed the very threshold of the writings of the primitive fathers and ancient ecclesiastical history, or at any rate to have written clean contrary to what he knew² [to be true]. The latter supposition charity forbids our entertaining of Episcopius, and I am very far, myself, from entertaining it. Was he then but little versed in the records of the ancient Church? But not even on this supposition will he escape the charge of great temerity, for having so confidently pronounced off the opinion of the primitive Church, (specially on a point of so vast importance,) without having himself examined it; and for having in consequence committed a very grave outrage on the doctors, the bishops, the confessors and the martyrs of the very best ages; as if forsooth they had been lukewarm, nay utterly cold, in the defence of the greatest of all the articles of the Christian religion. But the fact is this. Although he was a man of unquestionably great ability, and in many respects possessed learning of no ordinary kind, yet he but little consulted or regarded, nay he actually despised, the writings of the ancient fathers and doctors. Hear his reply to the Jesuit Wading's empty boast about Fathers and Councils; he frankly opens his mind on the subject in these words^c; "I will here once for all say what I think. You never shall drive me to that

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² contra
suam ip-
sius con-
scientiam.

^c Reply to Wading's Epist. on the Worship of Images, c. 1. [vol. i. p. 132.]

ADVERTISE-
MENT.

¹ Compin-
ges me in
pistrinum
istud.

² Ex mus-
taceo lau-
reolam non
quæro.

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3

drudgery¹, friend Wading. I do not look for laurels in laurel-cakes²; nor do I envy the credit of the great reading and capacious memory of those, whose delight it is to be ever drifting and tossing on that ocean of Councils and fathers, spending therein all their leisure and all their industry. For I set not so great store on that, of which I might one day repent." With him then, you see, to apply oneself to the praiseworthy study and careful reading of the ancient fathers and Councils is the same thing as "looking for laurels in laurel-cakes," that is, (as Erasmus explains the adage,) to endeavour to gain an inglorious and paltry fame from frivolous pursuits; such [study], in his view, is nothing else than to waste light and labour, and to do that of which one may some time repent. Farther on, in the same passage, after he had endeavoured, by certain weak arguments of his own, to take away nearly all their authority and reputation from the writings of the holy fathers, (with which appellation and title of "fathers," commonly applied to them, he professes himself to be displeased,) he at last concludes; "This is the reason why I do not bestow upon them" [that is, the writings of the fathers] "any great pains."

Would, however, that he had here at least excepted the fathers and writers of the first three centuries. If he had only spent more time and attention in reading them, he would, I am sure, have laboured in a way, which neither he nor the Church of Christ would ever have had reason to regret. Never would he have undertaken to plead the cause of Arians and Socinians to the extent of palliating, under cover of the authority and views of the primitive Churches, the doctrine which they have advanced concerning the Person of our Saviour, as if it were "perhaps" an error, but certainly not an heresy, although those Churches did all with a unanimous vote and judgment condemn it as a most pernicious and deadly³ heresy.

³ hæresim
pernicio-
sissimam
αὐθάρτη-
φίρον.

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That this is so, you will, I think, find more than sufficiently proved in the Dissertation I now present to you; which may indeed be regarded as a Supplement to my Defence of the Nicene Creed, published some years ago^c. For as in that

^c [The *Defensio Fidei Nicænæ* was published in 1685; the *Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ* in 1695.]

work I vindicated the Nicene Creed itself from the calumnies of its heretical assailants, and fully and clearly demonstrated, that the doctrine which was delivered in it, is quite in harmony with the faith of the Catholic Church of the first three centuries; (to which no one of the opponents of the holy synod has yet, so far as I know, returned an answer;) so in this treatise, I maintain and defend the anathematizing clause¹, which is annexed to that Creed. - For hence it clearly becomes apparent, that it was agreeably to the sentiment of the primitive Churches, which existed even from the very times of the Apostles, that the Nicene fathers added to their confession of faith the sanction of the following anathema^d; “ But as for those who say, There was a time when He was not; and, Before He was begotten He was not; and, He was made out of what existed not; or who assert that the Son of God is of another hypostasis or essence; or that He was created, or is capable of change, or alteration, them the Catholic and Apostolic Church doth anathematize.” This judgment of the universal Church of Christ, of all ages, will certainly be revered by every man of piety and sobriety, who will in consequence² be on his guard against, and from² adeo. his whole heart abhor, the God-denying³ heresy of the Samosatenes, no less than of the Arians. And this I earnestly³ ἀρνησι-θέω. advise you, my reader, (whosoever you are,) to do, and so bid you farewell.

^d τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων τὸν υἱὸν, ἢ ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως, καὶ μὴ ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ (ὅτι) ἦν χρόνος ποτὲ (ἡ αἰὼν), ὅτε οὐκ ἦν, ἀλλοτρίους οἶδεν ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία. [See the Def. Nic. Creed, Introduction, p. 13.]

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ETC.

INTRODUCTION.

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INTROD.

THE very learned M. Simon Episcopus, in his *Theological Institutes*, iv. 2. 33.^a after he had shewn, that there are in Scripture four especial senses¹ in which God is called the Father of Jesus Christ, and Jesus Christ, the Son of God the Father, even considered as Man,—namely, by reason of His conception of the Holy Ghost, His Mediatorial office, His resurrection from the dead, and, lastly, His exaltation to the right hand of the Father;—then adds, and (notwithstanding that he shews himself throughout his treatise too cold a defender of so important a truth) quotes some passages of Holy Scripture, and advances some arguments based on Scripture, to prove; “That that preeminence of Sonship, or of being the Son of God, belongs to Jesus Christ in another, and still more peculiar sense², such as cannot fall under any² ratione. of the four modes already mentioned, or be referred to Jesus Christ, considered as man; since Scripture not unfrequently speaks of Jesus Christ, *i. e.* of Him who was afterwards called Jesus Christ, in such a manner as to preclude all doubt, that He did really exist and subsist, as the true and only offspring of His Father, before His birth, as man, of His mother Mary; and consequently” (as he afterwards explains himself more fully) “before the creation of the universe; and that in such a way, as that all things were made by Him, and that on that account He is Himself God.”

At length, however, in chap. 34 of the same book, as his way is, he raises a question; “Whether that fifth mode of

^a [Page 335.]

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the Sonship of Jesus Christ, is necessary to be known and believed, in order to salvation; and [whether] those, who deny it, ought to be anathematized?" He takes the negative side of the question, and goes on to defend it by three arguments. The two former of these we shall leave to be discussed by others; the third alone (since the consideration of it seems, as it were, to have fallen to our lot) we propose to examine in this place.

His argument is as follows; "In the primitive Churches, from the very times of the Apostles, during at least three entire centuries, the belief and profession of a special Sonship of this kind was not judged necessary to be known and believed, in order to salvation. Therefore, there is no reason why it should now be believed to be necessary [to salvation]. This consequence is self-evident, according to the rule of Vincent of Lerins; that which is necessary to be known and believed for salvation, must of necessity be laid down to have been held and believed as such in the Church of Christ, in all places, by all persons, and at all times (*ubique, ab omnibus, et semper*)."

¹ ambabus
ulnis (quod
aiunt).

This consequence we readily¹ embrace; but, (to say nothing of Episcopus' incorrect expression, "the belief and profession of a special Sonship of this kind was not judged necessary to be known and believed, in order to salvation;" whereas, no doubt, he meant simply to say, that that belief and profession was not judged necessary to salvation,) with respect to the antecedent, I contend that it is palpably false, and shall abundantly prove it to be so in the following work, such as it is.

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One preliminary remark I here make, that we in this remote age cannot have any more certain means of ascertaining the judgment of the primitive Churches, respecting the necessity of this (or indeed of any other) article of our religion, than by first consulting the extant writings and remains of the Catholic fathers, and of the more celebrated doctors in the said Churches, with the object of discovering therefrom, what were their views concerning this question; next, by diligently examining Ecclesiastical history, respecting those who, in the first centuries, denied the divinity of Jesus Christ our Lord; in order to understand what kind of judgment

was passed against them by the Churches of those times,—whether they retained them in their communion, or rejected them, as aliens from Christ's body. There is also a third method of ascertaining what doctrines the primitive Church regarded as necessary to be believed; I mean by the creeds and confessions of faith, which it required of those who wished to enjoy communion with it. Nor do we ourselves decline this method, nay, we willingly adopt it, as will be clearly seen in the sequel. Since, however, very many persons in this degenerate age interpret the ancient creeds of the Church, as they do indeed even the Sacred Writings themselves, not according to the rule of the Church, and the Catholic understanding of them, (as Vincent recommended,) but according to their own pleasure; since also Episcopus and others, who have followed him, have drawn an argument in support of their opinion from that common Creed, which is called the Apostles'; I have, for these reasons, thought it more desirable to defer what I have to say about the creeds, to that part of my work where an answer is made to their arguments.

Having premised thus much, we shall easily refute the assertion of Episcopus, by the following method:—1. I shall adduce the testimonies of the primitive fathers, who declare explicitly enough that the doctrine of the true divinity of Christ is absolutely necessary to be believed for salvation. 2. I shall then shew from Ecclesiastical history, that in the early ages [of the Church] no one ever denied the divine generation of Jesus Christ our Lord from God the Father, before all worlds, without being at once, on that account, excommunicated from the Catholic Church of Christ, and regarded as a heretic. 3. Lastly, I shall give a very full answer to the arguments by which Episcopus endeavours to prove his premises. Such is the scope and end of this our dissertation.

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CHAPTER I.

THE TESTIMONIES OF THE PRIMITIVE FATHERS ARE ADDUCED, WHO ASSERT THAT THE BELIEF OF THE ARTICLE CONCERNING THE DIVINITY OF OUR SAVIOUR, IS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY TO SALVATION.

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CHURCH.

¹ sym-
mysta.

² omnino.

³ so Bull;
or "of
Christ."

⁴ ἄλλα, not
ἀλλά.

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1. I WILL commence with the testimonies of the very earliest fathers. Ignatius, a contemporary¹ of the Apostles, at least of the Apostle John, in his genuine Epistles, which Isaac Vossius edited, very often inculcates the doctrine that Christ is God and Man, very God and very Man, as absolutely² necessary to be believed [for salvation], in opposition to the heretics of that time, who denied one or the other of the natures of Christ. Thus in his Epistle to the Ephesians, after recounting the commendations of them, which he had heard from their bishop Onesimus, how they continued to hold fast the Catholic and Apostolic doctrine, and kept themselves pure from every heresy, he goes on to admonish them to persevere in the Catholic faith, being cautiously on their guard against the heretics, who were at that time cunningly and stealthily scattering abroad their tares in the field of the Church. These are his words^b; "For there are some who are accustomed to bear about the name (*i. e.* of Christians³) in wicked guile, while they do other⁴ things unworthy of God: these it behoves you to avoid as wild beasts; for they are raging dogs, that bite secretly, which you must guard yourselves against, for they are difficult to be cured." Here immediately follows that celebrated passage about the two natures in Christ^c; "There is One Physician, both fleshly and spiritual, made and not made, having become God incarnate, true life in death,

^b εἰώθασι γὰρ τινες δόλῳ πονηρῷ τὸ ὄνομα περιφέρειν, ἀλλὰ (leg. ἄλλα) τινα πρᾶσσοντες ἀνάξια Θεοῦ· οὓς δεῖ ὑμᾶς ὡς θηρία ἐκκλίνειν. εἰσὶν γὰρ κύνες λυσσῶντες, λαθροδῆκται, οὓς δεῖ ὑμᾶς φυλάσσεσθαι ὥστας δυσθεραπεύτους. . . . Εἰς ἰατρός ἐστιν σαρκικός τε καὶ

πνευματικός, γεννητὸς καὶ ἀγέννητος, ἐν σαρκὶ γενόμενος Θεός, ἐν θανάτῳ ζωὴ ἀληθινή, καὶ ἐκ Μαρίας, καὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ. . . . Μὴ οὖν τις ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατάτω.—Page 21. [§ 7. p. 13.]

^c See the Defence of the Nic. Creed, ii. 2. 6. [p. 96.]

both of Mary and of God.” Then it is immediately added, *Μὴ οὖν τις ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατάτω*, “Let no one lead you astray;” CHAP. I. § 1.
i. e. from the true doctrine, which had just before been IGNATIUS.
 set forth, concerning the twofold nature of our Saviour. So that it is clear enough, that the heretics whom Ignatius censures, had denied the apostolic doctrine of Christ being God and Man¹; and that this apostolic father was therefore of opinion, that they ought to be altogether avoided by all such as regarded their own salvation, as raging dogs, biting in secret, and infusing the deadly poison of their doctrine into men’s souls. ¹ Christo Θεανθρώπῳ.

But it is moreover to be observed, that after the holy man had said, that those heretics were “difficult to be cured” (*δυσθεραπεύτους*), in other words, were in extreme peril and danger of their eternal salvation, he immediately subjoins this as the reason for so saying: “There is one Physician, both fleshly and spiritual, made and not made, &c.,” which is just as if he had said, There is no salvation for men, except through the only Physician, of souls, Christ, God and Man, who is the Mediator between God and man. These men, however, acknowledge no such Physician and Mediator, nor will have any such; therefore, their salvation is quite hopeless²: unless, indeed, they come at last seriously to ² deplorata.
 repent of their heresy, and embrace and reverence with entire devotion God the Son, who was incarnate and made man for their salvation.

Afterwards, in the same Epistle, he again declares these [16]
 same heretics to be worse than the most abandoned men; them and their followers he assigns to the flames of hell, and calls their doctrine, “a doctrine of devils.” His words are^d: “Do not err, my brethren: destroyers of houses shall not inherit the kingdom of God. If, therefore, they that do these things after the flesh were put to death; how much rather shall he [perish], who by evil doctrine destroys³ the ³ φθείρη.

^a μὴ πλανᾶσθε ἀδελφοί μου, οἱ οἰκοφθόροι βασιλείαν Θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν. εἰ οὖν οἱ κατὰ σάρκα ταῦτα πράσσοντες ἀπέθανον, πόσω μᾶλλον ἐὰν πίστιν Θεοῦ ἐν κακῇ διδασκαλίᾳ φθείρῃ, ὑπὲρ ἧς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐσταυρώθη; ὁ τοιοῦτος ρυπαρὸς γενόμενος εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἄσβεστον χωρήσει, ὁμοίως καὶ ἀκούων

αὐτοῦ. . . . Μὴ δλείψετε δυσωδίαν διδασκαλίας τοῦ ἄρχοντος τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου. . . . Ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ἐκνοφορήθη ὑπὸ Μαρίας κατ’ οἰκονομίαν Θεοῦ, ἐκ σπέρματος μὲν Δαβὶδ, πνεύματος δὲ ἁγίου. — Pp. 26. 27. [§§ 16—18. pp. 15, 16.]

faith^e of God, for which Jesus Christ was crucified? Such an one having become polluted, shall go away into the fire that is unquenchable, as shall also he who listens to him." Then shortly afterwards [he says]; "Do not anoint yourselves with the ill-savoured ointment of the prince of this world's doctrine." And then he sets forth the apostolic faith, as opposed to this evil and devilish doctrine, in the following words; "For our God, Jesus Christ, was borne in the womb by¹ Mary, according to the dispensation of God, of² the seed of David, and of the Holy Ghost." It is on this account, therefore, that against both seducers and seduced this father, who was in other respects most gentle, utters his thunders, and threatens them with the unquenchable fire, because they were striving to pull down the very first truth of the Christian religion, even that great mystery of godliness, that God was manifest in the flesh, of which, as the [17] Apostle teaches us^f, every true Church of Christ ought, above³ *præcipue*. all things³, to be "the pillar and ground," (*στύλος καὶ ἑδραίωμα*,) *i. e.* by professing it, by maintaining it through her testimony, and by preserving it through the preaching of the Gospel. There were in the age of Ignatius two classes of heretics, who were engaged in this impious work, opposed no less to one another than to the truth. One class, whilst⁴ *quandam*. attributing a kind of⁴ divine nature to our Saviour, utterly divested Him of the human [nature]; for they affirmed, that Christ lived among men as man, suffered, and died, only in an imaginary way⁵: in this heresy were the Simonians, the Menandrians, the Saturninians, and others,—to whom a later age, on this account, gave the name of *Docetæ* and *Phantasiastæ*. The other class, on the contrary, acknowledged only the human nature in the Lord Jesus, as the Cerinthians and the Ebionites. It is not easy to say, which of these two heresies was the more pernicious; the latter certainly, as is evident, offers the more open insult to the dignity of our Saviour's person. That Ignatius, however, had both these classes of heretics in view, not only in the passages quoted,

^e *πίστιν*, others read *ἐκκλησίαν*, and in this way indeed the antithesis between human habitations and the house of God is better kept up.—*Ussher*. [But it is hardly necessary

to alter *πίστιν*, if with Hesychius we understand *οἰκοφύροι* to mean *adulterers*, v. Eurip. *Fragn. inc.* xlviii.—B.]

^f 1 Tim. iii. 15, 16.

but in other parts also of his Epistles, is generally allowed by the learned, and indeed is manifest of itself. Every one who reads those passages and examines them without prejudice and party-spirit, will surely never agree with the opinion of Episcopus, or believe that the doctrine touching the true divinity of our Lord Jesus, was not judged by the primitive Church to be necessary to be believed in order to salvation; much less that that Church kept up¹ communion¹ coluisse. with such as denied it; which, however, Episcopus has ventured to affirm. And thus much for Ignatius.

CHAP. I.
§ 1—3.

IGNATIUS.

2. Justin Martyr (although Episcopus and others who have followed him have cited him, either in very great ignorance or with very little candour, in support of their own view) entertained the same judgment [as Ignatius], concerning such as said, that our Lord Christ was a mere man, or a created being, as I shall hereafter clearly shew in a more convenient place.

JUSTIN M.

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3. Meanwhile let us take Irenæus next after Ignatius. In his youth he was so constant and diligent a hearer of Polycarp, the disciple of the Apostles, that even in his old age he retained a firm recollection of the discourses and teaching of that most blessed man (as he himself testifies in his Epistle to Florinus; see Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. v. 20); he could therefore easily know from him what doctrines the apostolic Church held to be heretical. Now this father, throughout his writings, just as Ignatius, repudiates as heretics those who denied Christ to be God-man², very God and very man, and declares them to be strangers to the saving knowledge of Christ. But his own words about the Cerinthians and the Ebionites, at the commencement of ch. 21^g of his third book, are most express; "They, again, who say that He is merely man begotten of Joseph, continuing in the bondage of their old disobedience, are dead, not being yet united with the Word of God the Father, nor receiving freedom through the Son, as He says Himself, 'If the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed.' But being ignorant of Him, who is [born] of

IRENÆUS.

² Θεὸν ἄνθρωπον.
πῶς.

^g Rursus autem qui nude tantum hominem cum dicunt ex Joseph generatum, perseverantes in servitute pristinae inobedientiæ moriuntur, nondum commixti Verbo Dei Patris, neque

per Filium percipientes libertatem, quemadmodum ipse ait, "Si Filius vos manumiserit, vere liberi eritis." Ignorantes autem eum, qui ex Virgine est Emmanuel, privantur munere ejus,

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CHURCH.¹ Emma-
nuel.
² debitores
mortis.
³ ex homi-
nibus.

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the Virgin, God with us¹, they are deprived of His gift, which is eternal life : and since they do not receive the Word of incorruption, they continue in mortal flesh, and are debtors of death², because they accept not the antidote of life.” Here he attributes two errors to those heretics ; viz. that they taught that Christ was [1.] a man born of human parents³, not of a pure virgin, and [2.] that He was a mere man, and nothing more. For either doctrine he excludes them from salvation ; affirming that they, continuing in the bondage of their old disobedience, are dead ; that they receive not freedom through the Son ; that they are deprived of the gift of Christ, which is eternal life ; that they are, in short, debtors of death. But the especial reason why he passes this tremendous sentence upon them is, that they were ignorant of Emmanuel, *i.e.* “ God with us,” and received not the Word of incorruption, or the incorruptible [Word], but continued in mortal flesh ; in other words, they acknowledged not the divine, incorruptible, and immortal nature of Christ.

⁴ unitio:
nem.⁵ plasma-
tionis.
⁶ plasmati.

Parallel to this is the following passage, in which he writes against the Ebionites by name, v. 1^h ; “ The Ebionites, however, are also mistaken, because they receive not into their soul by faith the union⁴ of God and man.” Again, a little after [he says] ; “ They therefore reject the mingling of the heavenly wine, and will have it that there is the water of this world only, *not receiving God* unto their mingling⁵, but continue in that Adam who was vanquished and cast out of Paradise ; not considering, that as from the beginning of our creation⁶ in Adam, that breath of life, which was from God, being united to created⁶ matter, animated man, and exhibited a rational animal ; so in the end, THE WORD OF THE FATHER

quod est vita æterna ; non recipientes autem Verbum incorruptionis perseverant in carne mortali, et sunt debitores mortis, antidotum vitæ non accipientes.—[Chap. 19. p. 212.]

^h Vani autem et Ebionæi, unitio-
nem Dei et hominis per fidem non
recipientes in suam animam. . . . Re-
probant itaque hi commixtionem vini
cœlestis, et solam aquam sæcularem
volunt esse, *non recipientes Deum* ad
commixtionem suam, perseverantes
autem in eo qui victus est Adam et
projectus est de Paradiso ; non con-

templantes, quoniam quemadmodum
ab initio plasmationis nostræ in Adam
ea quæ fuit a Deo inspiratio [adspi-
ratio, ed. Ben.] vitæ, unita plasmati,
animavit hominem, et animal rationale
ostendit, sic in fine VERBUM PATRIS ET
SPIRITUS DEI, ADUNITUS ANTIQUÆ SUB-
STANTIÆ PLASMATIONIS ADÆ, viventem
et perfectum effecit hominem [cap-
ientem perfectum Patrem].—[§ 3. p.
293.]

¹ [The Ebionites, as S. Epiphanius
(Hær. xxx. § 16) states, used water only
in the celebration of the Eucharist.]

AND THE SPIRIT OF GOD, BEING UNITED TO THE ANCIENT SUBSTANCE OF ADAM'S CREATION, made a living and perfect Man." To this may be added a passage of Irenæus, which Theodoret has quoted from book iv. 59^k; "And he (the spiritual man) will judge the Ebionites also. How can they be saved, unless it be God who hath wrought out their salvation on the earth? or how shall man pass into ¹ God, unless God hath come into ² man?"

CHAP. I.
§ 3—5.

IRENÆUS.

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¹ χωρήσει
eis.

² ἐχωρήθη
eis.

TERTULLIAN.

³ ex.

⁴ ante
secula.

4. Tertullian¹ (in his Prescription against Heresies, ch. iv.) affirms, that the article on the generation of the Son of God from ³ God the Father Himself, before the worlds⁴, undoubtedly belongs to that rule of faith, "which admits no questionings amongst Christians, except those which heresies introduce, and which make heretics." This passage I shall cite at length hereafter, when I come to treat of the Creeds^m. Besides, you will presently find in this chapter a remarkable testimony from Tertullian in support of the necessity of this article.

5. After Tertullian must be placed Novatian, or the author of the treatise on the Trinity, among the works of Tertullian. For in the eleventh chapterⁿ of that treatise, [the author] condemns the doctrine of those that deny the divinity of Christ, and affirm Him to be a mere man or a created being, as a most dangerous heresy, and insulting to God the Father Himself. For instance, in that chapter he writes thus; "For it is a very perilous thing, to say that the Saviour of the human race,—the Lord and Ruler of the whole universe, to whom all things have been delivered, and the whole have been given up by His Father, through whom the universe was established, all things created, and the whole set in order, the King of all dispensations⁵ and times, the Prince of all ⁶ ævorum. angels, before whom [was] nothing except the Father,—is

^k ἀνακρινεῖ δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἑβιωνοὺς. πῶς δύνανται σωθῆναι, εἰ μὴ ὁ Θεὸς ᾗ, ὁ τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἐργασάμενος; ἢ πῶς ἀνθρώπος χωρήσει εἰς Θεόν, εἰ μὴ ὁ Θεὸς ἐχωρήθῃ εἰς ἀνθρώπον; —[33, 4. p. 271.]

^l [P. 207.]

^m See below, chap. iv. § 9.

ⁿ Est enim periculum grande, Salvatorem generis humani, totius Domini et Principem mundi, cui a suo Patre omnia tradita sunt et cuncta concessa, per quem instituta sunt uni-

versa, creata sunt tota, digesta sunt cuncta, ævorum omnium et temporum Regem, angelorum omnium Principem, ante quem nihil præter Patrem, hominem tantummodo dicere, et auctoritatem illi divinam in his abnegare. Hæc enim contumelia hæreticorum ad ipsum quoque Deum Patrem redundabit, si Deus Pater Filium Deum generare non potuit. Sed enim veritati cæcitas hæreticorum nulla præscribet. —[P. 713.] Ante quem nihil præter Patrem. The sense in which

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CHURCH.¹ contumelia.

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² veritas
fidei.³ positum.⁴ merito.

merely a man, and to deny to Him divine authority in these respects. For this insulting¹ opinion of the heretics will reflect on God the Father Himself also, if the Father, [being] God, could not beget the Son, God. However, no blindness of the heretics will prescribe [limits so as to exclude] the truth." Again, at the very beginning of the twelfth chapter of the same book, he expressly declares that he who does not acknowledge Christ to be God, cannot be saved. These are his own very words^o; "Why then should we hesitate to say, what Scripture does not hesitate to express? Why should the truth of the faith² falter, where the authority of Scripture never faltered? For, behold, the prophet Hosea says, in the person of the Father; 'I will not save them by bow, nor by horses, nor by horsemen; but I will save them by the Lord^p their God.' If God says that He saves [them] by God, and yet God saves not except by Christ, why then should man hesitate to call Christ God, when he perceives that He is in the Scriptures stated³ to be God by the Father? Nay, more, if God the Father saves not except by God, it will not be possible for any one to be saved by God the Father, without confessing that Christ is God, in whom and through whom the Father promises to give salvation: so that, as is fitting⁴, every one who acknowledges that He is God, finds salvation in Christ [being] God; whereas he who denies that He is God, will lose the salvation, which he will not be able to find anywhere except in Christ [being] God." Lastly, in chapter 30, after speaking of both classes of heretics,—as well those who say that the Son is the Father, as those who

Novatian meant this, the reader will find explained in the Defence of the Nicene Creed, iii. 8. 7. [p. 480.]

^o Cur ergo dubitemus dicere, quod Scriptura non dubitat exprimere? cur hæsitabit fidei veritas, in quo Scripturæ nunquam hæsitavit auctoritas? ecce enim Osee propheta ait ex persona Patris, "Jam non salvabo eos in arcu, neque in equis, neque in equitibus, sed salvabo eos in Domino Deo ipsorum." Si Deus salvare se dicit in Deo, non autem salvat nisi in Christo Deus, cur ergo homo dubitet Christum Deum dicere, quem Deum a Patre animadvertit positum per Scripturas esse? Imo si non salvat nisi in Deo

Pater Deus, salvari non potuerit a Deo Patre quisquam, nisi confessus fuerit Christum Deum, in quo se et per quem se repromittit Pater salutem daturum; ut merito quisquis illum agnoscit esse Deum, salutem inveniat in Deo Christo; quisquis non recognoscit esse Deum, salutem perdidit, quam alibi nisi in Christo Deo invenire non poterit.—[P. 713.]

^p The Targum of Jonathan has, "by the Word of the Lord their God." Hence also ancient Christian writers agree in explaining this passage of Christ, the Word and Son of God. See Defence of the Nicene Creed, i. 1. 19. [p. 34.]

say that He is not God,—he adds, with no less of truth than of skill¹ and beauty²; “In very deed our Lord is crucified, as it were, between two thieves, as He was aforetime: and thus on both sides do the impious reproaches of these heretics assail Him.”

CHAP. I.
§ 5, 6.

NOVATIAN.
¹ scite.

6. I come now to Origen, who, if any of the ancients [did], adopted a liberal theology; so that one might fairly call him (to use an epithet well known amongst ourselves) “the *latitudinarian* father.” Notwithstanding, even Origen, whilst professedly treating of the necessary articles of the Christian faith, in the first book of his work *Περὶ ἀρχῶν*, (On First Principles,) in express terms enumerates among them this of the divinity of Christ, and that as one of the most important. The passage is a remarkable one, and therefore, notwithstanding its length, I shall not hesitate to transcribe it from the Apology of the martyr Pamphilus^r; “Whereas there are many who suppose that they have the mind² of Christ, and [yet] some of them think differently from those who have gone before us, whilst nevertheless the teaching³ of the Church is preserved, handed down in the order of succession from the Apostles, and continuing in the Churches even to the present time, that alone must be believed to be the truth which in no respect differs from the tradition of the Church. We ought not, however, to be ignorant of this, that the holy Apostles, when they preached the faith of Christ, were most clear in their statement of certain points, such as they believed to be necessary for all believers, even those who seemed to be slower in the search into divine knowledge; leaving, as it appears, the reasons of their statement to be inquired into by those who should be worthy to receive the eminent gifts

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² sentire
quæ
Christi
sunt.

³ ecclesiastica
prædicatio.

¹ Revera quasi inter duos latrones crucifigitur Dominus, quomodo fixus aliquando est; et ita excipiunt hæreticorum istorum ex utroque latere sacrilega convitia.—[P. 728.]

^r Cum multi sint, qui se putant sentire quæ Christi sunt, et nonnulli eorum diversa a prioribus sentiant, servetur vero ecclesiastica prædicatio per successionis ordinem ab apostolis tradita, et usque ad præsens in ecclesiis permanens, illa sola credenda est

veritas, quæ in nullo ab ecclesiastica traditione discordat. Illud autem scire oportet, quoniam S. apostoli, fidem Christi prædicantes, de quibusdam quidem, quæcunque necessaria crediderunt omnibus credentibus, etiam his qui pigriores erga inquisitionem divinæ scientiæ videbantur, manifestissime tradiderunt; rationem scilicet assertionis eorum relinquentes ab his inquirendam, qui Spiritus dona excellentia et præcipue sermonis sa-

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¹ studio-
siores.

² species
istæ.

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³ compo-
suit.

⁴ natus.

⁵ condi-
tione.

⁶ ecclesia-
sticæ præ-
dicationis.

of the Spirit, especially those of 'the word of wisdom and knowledge,' through the Holy Spirit itself. On certain other points, however, they simply declared [the fact] that they are; but how they are, and whence they are, they said not; in order, no doubt, that such among those who came after them as should be more earnest in inquiry ¹ than others, lovers of wisdom and knowledge, might have exercise, wherein to shew some fruit from their abilities; such, I mean, as should prepare themselves to be worthy and capable of wisdom. Now, instances² of those points which [as I have said] are plainly taught by the preaching of the Apostles, are as follows: First, that there is one God, who created and ordered³ all things, and made the universe out of nothing, &c. And, that this God, as He had promised before by His prophets, in the last days sent our Lord Jesus Christ, &c. Then next, that the very Jesus Christ who came was begotten⁴ of the Father before every creature. That, after He had ministered to the Father in the creation⁵ of all things, (for 'by Him were all things made,') in the last times He emptied Himself, and was made man; He was made flesh, although He was God; and when He had become man, He remained, what He was, God." In these words, Origen says that the doctrine of the divinity of the Son is a part of that teaching of the Church⁶ which had been handed down from the Apostles themselves, and was always up to his time preserved in the Churches; and whereas [the truths] which the Apostles taught were of different kinds, he places this article amongst those points which they taught most clearly as being necessary for all believers, even the more ignorant.

pientiæ et scientiæ per ipsum Spiritum S. percipere merebantur. De aliis vero dixerunt quidem quia sint; quomodo autem, aut unde sint, siluerunt; profecto ut studiosiores quique ex posteris suis, amatores sapientiæ et scientiæ, exercitium habere possent in quo ingenii sui fructum ostendere valerent; hi videlicet, qui dignos se et capaces sapientiæ præpararent. Species vero eorum quæ per prædicationem apostolicam manifeste traduntur; istæ sunt, Primo quod unus est Deus, qui omnia creavit atque composuit, quique ex nullis esse fecit universa, &c. Et quod hic Deus in

novissimis diebus, sicut per prophetas suos ante promiserat, misit Dominum Jesum Christum, &c. Tum deinde, quia Christus Jesus, ipse qui venit, ante omnem creaturam natus ex Patre est. Qui cum in omnium conditione Patri ministrasset, (*per ipsum* namque *omnia facta sunt*), novissimis temporibus seipsum exinaniens, homo factus est; incarnatus est, cum Deus esset; et homo factus mansit quod erat Deus. —[Pref. 2. Origen, Works, vol. i. p. 47.] Also in Pamphilus's Apology, among the works of Jerome, tom. ix. pp. 115, 116, ed. Victor. [vol. iv. Origen. Append. p. 20.]

In the same Apology^s there is a quotation from Origen's work on the Epistle to Titus ; in which he thus annotates on that passage of the Apostle in chap. iii. verse 10,—“ A man that is an heretic, after the first [and second] admonition, reject ;”—“ The name heresy, so far as I have been able to discover, occurs also in the Epistle to the Corinthians¹ on this wise : ‘ For there must be [also] heresies [among you], that they which are approved may be made manifest among you.’ And again, [in the Epistle] to the Galatians, the name of ‘ heresy ’ is enumerated among the works of the flesh, as he says ; ‘ Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are these ; [adultery,] fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies, &c., of the which I also tell you before, that they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God.’ From this we learn that, as those who are defiled with fornication, or uncleanness, and lasciviousness, and idolatry, shall not inherit the kingdom of God, so neither shall they who fall away into heresy. Therefore, on the authority of the statement of the Apostle himself, we ought to avoid the name of heresy as well as the other evils which are enumerated ; and not be joined with such in the communion of prayer.” Shortly afterwards, Origen shews who are to be regarded as heretics, in these words ; “ But let us, to the best of our power, according as we are able to understand, describe what a heretic is : every one who professes to believe in Christ, and yet says that the God of the law and the prophets is one, the God of the gospels another, &c. We must hold the very

CHAP. I.
§ 6.

ORIGEN.

¹ [1 Cor.
xi. 19.]

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* Nomen *hæresis*, quantum egoprehendere potui, etiam in Epistola ad Corinthios designatur hoc modo, *Oportet enim hæreses esse, ut probati manifesti fiant inter vos.* Et iterum ad Galatas, inter opera carnis hæresis quoque nomen adscribitur, sicut ait, *Manifesta autem sunt opera carnis, quæ sunt fornicatio, immunditia, impudicitia, idololatria, veneficia, inimicitia, contentiones, æmulationes, ira, rixa, discordiæ, hæreses, &c. quæ et prædico vobis, quoniam qui talia agunt regnum Dei non possidebunt.* Per quæ cognoscimus, quoniam sicut hi qui fornicationibus vel immunditiis atque impudiciis et idolorum cultibus maculati sunt, regnum Dei non possidebunt ; ita et hi qui in hæresin declinaverint. . . . Propterea ergo, secundum auctoritatem sententiæ ipsius (apostoli) oportet nos, sicut reliqua mala quæ numeravit, ita etiam nomen hæresis devitare, neque cum talibus orationis societate misceri. . . . Quid vero sit hereticus homo, pro viribus nostris, secundum quod sentire possumus, describamus : Omnis qui Christo se credere confiteatur, et tamen alium Deum legis et prophetarum, alium evangeliorum Deum dicit, &c. . . . Unum atque

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same of him also, who shall hold anything false respecting our Lord Jesus Christ, whether following those who allege that He was born of Joseph and Mary, as do the Ebionites and the Valentinians^t, or those who deny that He was the First-begotten, and the God of the whole creation, and the Word, and that Wisdom, which is the beginning of the ways of God, before anything was made; which was set up before the worlds, and brought forth before all the hills; and who say that He is only man." Surely, nothing can be plainer than this.

DIONYSIUS
R.

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7. Dionysius, a very celebrated bishop of the Church of Rome, who flourished not long after Origen, in an Epistle against the Sabellians, quoted by Athanasius^u, calls the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, τὸ σεμνότατον κήρυγμα τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Θεοῦ,—“the most sacred doctrine of the Church of God,”—such, that is, as it is a heinous sin in the least degree to violate; whilst those who dare to affirm that the Son of God is a created being and made, he charges not only with heresy simply, but with the greatest blasphemy. “It is^x,” says he, “no ordinary blasphemy, but rather the greatest, to say that the Lord is in any way a handy-work; for if He were made a Son, there was a time when He was not: but He always was in existence.” It is therefore certain, that in the age of Dionysius, the Church of Rome, deservedly the most honoured of all Churches of that period, judged that the article respecting the eternal Godhead of the Son was absolutely necessary to be believed, and had no communion with such as did not acknowledge Christ to be God, but said that He was a creature.

8. It would be endless, were I to adduce all the statements of all the primitive fathers which bear on this point; therefore, to the testimonies which have been already advanced

idem credendum est etiam de eo, qui de Domino nostro Jesu Christo falsi aliquid senserit, sive secundum eos, qui dicunt eum ex Joseph et Maria natum, sicut sunt Ebionitæ et Valentiniani; sive secundum eos, qui Primogenitum eum negant et totius creaturæ Deum, et Verbum, et Sapientiam, quæ est initium viarum Dei, antequam aliquid fieret, ante sæcula fundatam, atque ante omnes colles

generatam, sed hominem solum eum dicentes.—Ib. p. 117. [p. 22.]

^t See the notes of Huet. on Orig. Comment. p. 120.

^u De Decret. Synod. Nic. tom. i. pp. 275, 276. [§ 26. vol. i. p. 231. See the Def. F. N. vol. i. p. 303.]

^x βλάσφημον οὖν, οὐ τὸ τυχόν, μέγιστον μὲν οὖν, χειροποίητον τρόπον τινὰ λέγειν τὸν Κύριον. εἰ γὰρ γέγονεν υἱός, ἦν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν διὰ δὲ ἦν.—[Ibid.]

I will merely add this general observation, that in the earliest ages there was a controversy violently agitated between Jews and Christians respecting the person of the Messiah, or the Christ, whether, according to the predictions of the prophets, He were to be God and man, or *mere man* (ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος). The latter view was affirmed by the Jews and some Judaizing Christians; (who charged those who held the divinity of Christ with the polytheism of the heathen;) and the former was strenuously maintained, as the chief article¹ of their faith and salvation, by all Catholic Christians, so that they even regarded as aliens from the Christian Church, and deserters to the synagogue, those who denied this doctrine, although they professed the faith of Jesus Christ in all other respects. The fact is, it appeared to them to be nearly the same thing, not to acknowledge Jesus as the Christ, and to deny Him to be God.

9. Justin Martyr, in his Dialogue with Trypho, when endeavouring to shew that it was predicted by the holy prophets that the Messiah or Christ was both to be God and to be born as man of a virgin, is thus met by Trypho²; “As for your saying that this Christ pre-existed as God in being before the worlds, [and] then endured² even to become man,² ὑπομεῖναι, and to be born, and that He was not man of man; it seems to me to be not merely paradoxical, but even absurd.” Justin, in reply, says to him; “I am aware that what I say does appear paradoxical, and especially to those of your nation who have never been willing either to understand or to do the things which are of God, but those [only] which your instructors teach you, as God Himself loudly complains³.”³ βοᾷ. In his first book against Celsus, Origen finds fault with that Epicurean, because, in the *prosopopœia*, where he introduces a Jew as a speaker, he had not preserved consistency⁴,⁴ decorum. having put into the mouth of his Jew words which were by no means suited to his character; for instance, the following; “But my prophet formerly declared at Jerusalem, that the

¹ τὸ γὰρ λέγειν σε, προϋπάρχειν Θεὸν ὄντα πρὸ αἰώνων τούτων τὸν Χριστὸν, εἶτα καὶ γεννηθῆναι ἄνθρωπον γεγόμενον ὑπομεῖναι, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἀνθρώπου, οὐ μόνον παράδοξον δοκεῖ μοι εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μωρὸν. [Κεφῶ πρὸς ταύ-

τα ἔφη·] Οἷδ' ὅτι παράδοξος ὁ λόγος δοκεῖ εἶναι, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους ὑμῶν, οἵτινες τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὔτε νοῆσαι, οὔτε ποιῆσαι ποτὲ βεβούλησθε, ἀλλὰ τὰ τῶν διδασκάλων ὑμῶν, ὡς αὐτοὺς ὁ Θεὸς βοᾷ.—[§ 48. pp. 143, 144.]

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Son of God would come, a Judge of the righteous, an Avenger of the wicked." He immediately assigns this as a reason for his censure²; "A Jew would not acknowledge that a prophet said, that *the Son* of God would come; for what they say is, that *the Christ* of God will come. Indeed, oftentimes, they raise a direct question with us, concerning the Son of God, as if no such either existed or had been prophesied of." The same reproach he again fixes on Celsus in book iv.^a, saying; "He is, I am quite sure, ignorant that the Jews never say at all that the Christ will come down, being God, or the Son of God."

¹ annu-
mentum.
rare ei.

10. Tertullian, however, writes what is more to the point of our observations in his work against Praxeas, near the end^b; "But of the Jewish faith this is the substance, so to believe in one God as to refuse to reckon the Son besides¹, and after the Son the Spirit. For what difference would there be between us and them, if there were not this distinction? What need would there be of the Gospel, which is the substance of the new covenant, and lays down that the law and the prophets were until John, if thenceforward the Father, the Son, and the Spirit, being believed in as Three, do not make one God? God was pleased to renew His covenant² with man in such a way as that His unity might be believed on after a new manner through the Son and the Spirit, that God might now be known openly³ in His proper Names and Persons, who aforetime also, being declared through the Son and the Spirit, was not understood. Let the antichrists, therefore, take heed, who deny the Father and the Son," &c. But what Novatian remarks in his treatise on the Trinity, chap. xxiii., is most apposite, where, on these words of

² sacra-
mentum.³ coram.

^a Ἰουδαῖος δὲ οὐκ ἂν ὁμολογήσαι, ὅτι προφήτης τις εἶπεν, ἕξειν Θεοῦ υἱόν· ὃ γὰρ λέγουσιν, ἐστίν, ὅτι ἕξει ὁ Χριστὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ. Καὶ πολλὰς γε ζητοῦσι πρὸς ἡμᾶς εὐθέως περὶ υἱοῦ Θεοῦ, ὡς οὐδενὸς ὄντος τοιοῦτου, οὐδὲ προφητεθέντος.—P. 38, Cambridge edition. [i. 49. p. 366.]

^b Οὐκ οἶδε μέντοιγε, ὅτι οὐ πάντι Ἰουδαῖοι λέγουσι Θεὸν ὄντα Χριστὸν καταβῆσθαι, ἢ Θεοῦ υἱόν. — P. 162. [§ 2. p. 503.]

^c Cæterum Judaicæ fidei ista res, sic unum Deum credere, ut Filium annumerare ei nolis, et post Filium,

Spiritum. Quid enim erit inter nos et illos, nisi differentia ista? quid opus evangelii, quæ est substantia Novi Test. statuens legem et prophetas usque ad Johannem, si non exinde Pater et Filius et Spiritus, tres crediti, unum Deum sistunt? Sic Deus voluit novare sacramentum, ut nove unus crederetur per Filium et Spiritum, ut coram jam Deus in suis propriis nominibus et personis cognosceretur, qui et retro per Filium et Spiritum prædicatus non intelligebatur. Viderint igitur antichristi, qui negant Patrem et Filium, &c.—[P. 518.]

John viii. 14, 15^c; "Though I bear record of myself, yet My record is true: for I know whence I came, and whither I go; but ye cannot tell whence I come, and whither I go. Ye judge after the flesh," he has these truly excellent observations; "See, here also He says that He will return thither, from whence He testifies that He had previously come; having been sent, that is, from heaven. He descends, therefore, from the place whence He came, just as he goes thither from whence He descended. It follows from this, that, if Christ had been merely man, He would not have come from thence; by coming, however, thence whence man could not come, He shews that He came [being] God. The Jews, however, being ignorant of this His descent, and without understanding¹, have made those heretics their heirs, to whom it is said, 'Ye cannot tell whence I come, and whither I go; ye judge after the flesh.' These, as well as the Jews, holding that the nativity of Christ was only after the flesh, believed that Christ was nothing else than man; not considering this, that, inasmuch as a man could not have come down from heaven so as to be able of right² to return thither, He who came down from that place, whence man could not have come, is God."

CHAP. I.
§ 9—11.

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11

¹ imperiti.

² ut merito possit.

11. Accordingly the author (whoever that was) of the Epistle to Hero the deacon, ascribed to Ignatius, deserves attention on this point at least, that he condemns the heresy of those who deny the Divinity of Christ, as a Jewish impiety and blasphemy, in the following words^d; "If any one says that the Lord is a mere man, he is a Jewish murderer of Christ." Very similar language is used by, apparently, the same author in his Epistle to the Church of Antioch, wherein

^c *Etsi ego de me testificor, verum est testimonium meum; quia acio unde venerim, et quo eam. Vos ignoratis unde venerim, aut quo eam; vos secundum carnem judicatis; Ecce et hic illuc se dicit rediturum, unde se testificatur ante venisse; missum scilicet de cœlo. Descendit ergo unde venit, quomodo illuc vadit unde descendit. Ex quo, si homo tantummodo Christus esset, non inde venisset; . . . veniendo autem inde unde homo venire non potest, Deus se ostendit venisse. Sed enim hujus ipsius descensionis ignari et imperiti Judæi hæredes sibi*

hæreticos istos reddiderunt, quibus dicitur, Vos ignoratis unde veniam, et quo eam; vos secundum carnem judicatis. Tam isti, quam Judæi, carnalem solam esse Christi nativitatem tenentes, nihil aliud Christum esse quam hominem crediderunt; non considerantes illud, quoniam cum de cœlo homo non potuerit venire, ut merito illuc possit redire, Deum esse qui inde descenderit, unde homo venire non potuerit.—[p. 721.]

^d *Εἷς τις ἄνθρωπον ψιλὸν λέγει τὸν Κύριον, Ἰουδαῖος ἐστὶ Χριστοκτόνος.—[Patr. Apost. Coteler. vol. ii. p. 109.]*

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he bids them^e "to throw off all Jewish and Gentile error: and neither introduce a multitude of Gods besides [the true], nor deny Christ under a pretext of the unity of God." And, after a short interval, he adds^f; "Every one, therefore, who preaches One Only God, so as to overthrow the Divinity of Christ, is a devil, and an enemy of all righteousness."

1 gregales
Sabellii.

12. Lastly, the sense of the primitive Catholic Church on this subject is, as usual, admirably expressed by the great Athanasius, not far from the commencement of his Oration^g against the Sabellians¹; "Many and weighty," he says, "are the objections which the Jews have to urge against idolaters; and what they say is just, when they accuse them of worshipping the creature rather than the Creator. However, they must not, because they refute an impiety, be for that reason accounted pious, whilst they deny the Son of God, through whom all things were made, and charge with polytheism those who worship the Father through Him. Wherefore we have come out from the Gentiles, and are separate, in order not to be mixed up with their impure idolatries; and we have also come out from the blasphemy of the Jews, by having confessed the Son of God." And, after a short interval, he adds^h; "We separate ourselves likewise from such as Judaize, and corrupt Christianity with Judaism, who denying Him that is of God to be God, speak of God as one in some such way as the Jews do; not saying that He is the only God, because He alone is unbegotten and alone the fountain of Deity; but as being without² a Son, and without the fruit of a living Word and true wisdom."

2 ἄγονον
υἱοῦ.

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^e Πῶσαν Ἰουδαϊκὴν καὶ Ἑλληνικὴν ἀπορρίψαι πλάνην καὶ μήτε πληθὸς θεῶν ἐπεισάγειν, μήτε τὸν Χριστὸν ἀρνεῖσθαι προφάσει τοῦ ἐνὸς Θεοῦ.—[Ibid. p. 104.]

^f Πᾶς οὖν ὅστις ἓνα καὶ μόνον καταγγέλλει Θεὸν ἐπ' ἀναίρει τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ θεότητος, ἐστὶ διάβολος καὶ ἐχθρὸς πάσης δικαιοσύνης.—[Ibid. § 5, p. 105.]

^g Πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα, κατὰ τῶν εἰδωλολατρῶντων ἔχουσι λέγειν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, καὶ δίκαια λέγουσι, κατηγοροῦντες αὐτῶν τῇ κτίσει λατρευνόντων παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα. ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅτι δυσσεβίαν ἐλέγχουσι, διὰ τοῦτο εὐσεβεῖν ὁμολογηθήσονται, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα γέγονεν, ἀρνούμενοι, καὶ τοὺς δι' αὐτοῦ τὸν Πατέρα σεβομένους

ἐγκαλοῦντες πολυθεότητα. διόπερ ἐξεληλύθαμεν ἐξ Ἑλλήνων καὶ ἀφωρίσμεθα, πρὸς τὸ μὴ ταῖς ἀκαθάρτοις εἰδωλολατρῆαις ἀναμίγνυσθαι. ἐξεληλύθαμεν δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων βλασφημίας, τὸν υἱὸν ὁμολογήσαντες τοῦ Θεοῦ.—[Vol. ii. p. 37. The Benedictine editor, however, denies that this Oration is the work of Athanasius.—B.]

^h Χωρίζομεθα δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαϊζόντων καὶ τὸν Χριστιανισμὸν ἐν Ἰουδαϊσμῷ παραφθειρόντων, οἱ τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ Θεὸν ἀρνούμενοι, Θεὸν ἓνα παραπλησίως Ἰουδαίους λέγουσιν· οὐχ ὅτι μόνος ἀγέννητος, καὶ μόνος πηγὴ θεότητος, διὰ τοῦτο φάσκοντες αὐτὸν εἶναι μόνον Θεόν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἄγονον υἱὸν καὶ ἄκαρπον ζῶντος λόγου καὶ σοφίας ἀληθινῆς.—[Ibid. § 2.]

What follows in Athanasius is, indeed, most worthy of being read; for in it that almost divine man admirably proves, both from the first verse of the first chapter of the evangelist John, and from reason itself, that it is impossible to have a right conception of God as one, in the sense of the Jews and Judaizing heretics; that is, in such sense one, as to be unipersonal (*μονοπρόσωπος*); since it is necessary that God, who is eternal mind, should have in Himself and with Himself His Word (*λόγος*), and that not such as is the human word, but living and subsisting; such as to be, because a living and subsisting Word, a Person; and, because the Word is from God the Father, a divine Person, distinct from the Father; and yet, inasmuch as the Word is in the Father, and is the Word of the Father, one God with the Father. This, however, is not the place for pursuing that subject.

13. But, as regards the opinion of the Jews respecting the Messiah, it will not perhaps be out of place, before I finish this chapter, to remark in passing¹, that their own prophets do throughout their writings intimate, and that not obscurely, that the Messiah or Christ would be both God and man, as, among the ancients, Justin Martyr has shewn at length in his Dialogue with Trypho the Jew; whilst the most noble and learned Du Plessis has produced abundant proof, that the same doctrine was not entirely unknown to the more intelligent of the Hebrew doctors. See his treatise on the Truth of the Christian Religion, chapter 28. But, notwithstanding, it is clear that the Jews, even in the time of Christ, did for the most part entertain very poor and low views² about their Messiah, supposing that He would be nothing else than man. Accordingly, in Matthew xxii. 42, we read that our most Holy Saviour, wishing to catch the captious Pharisees, thus questioned them; "What think ye of Christ? Whose Son is He?" And that the Pharisees answered, "The Son of David;" (that is, they expected a Messiah, who should be merely and simply the son of David,—never even dreaming of the Son of God;) that then our Lord pressed them with this difficult question³, "How then doth David in Spirit call Him Lord, saying, The Lord said unto my Lord, &c. If

CHAP. I.
§ 11—13.

¹ ὡς ἐν
παρόδῳ.

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² πτωχῶς
καὶ ταπει-
νῶς sen-
sisse.

12

³ ænig-
mate.

David, then, call Him Lord, how is He his Son?" Now to this question no one of the Pharisees was able to return an answer, verse 46. But surely, if the Pharisees had had any thought of the Divinity of the Messiah, they could easily have found a solution for this enigma; for they could have said, that Christ would indeed be David's Son, as regards the flesh; but his Lord, with respect to His divine nature.

Now this opinion of the Jews unquestionably originated in that gross and carnal conception of the Messiah, which a nation, tied down to the flesh and the earth, had formed to themselves. For in their Messiah they expected to see a glorious king, preeminent in power and wealth and arms, who should exalt his sceptre, and with it¹ the Jewish nation, over all the empires of the earth; who should vanquish all the enemies of his people, and should especially throw down imperial² Rome from her lofty seat, and in her place set up Jerusalem, to be the metropolis of all the world. For a Messiah, then, such as this, what need was there of God-head? Such achievements as these could surely all be wrought, with God's assisting providence, by a Cyrus, an Alexander, or a Caesar. What is to be said of this that such an earthly empire was utterly unworthy of God? No wonder, therefore, that the Jews, entertaining such notions as these about the Messiah, did not recognise in Him any divine nature.

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14. Nevertheless, it absolutely surpasses all belief, that among Christians,—taught, as they are most clearly, in the Gospel, truths far more holy and sublime respecting their Christ, — any should now be found, or ever should have been found, who could imagine that He is a bare man or a mere creature. Not to mention those passages in the New Testament, which immediately respect the doctrine of His divine nature³, in which, that is, He is declared to be “the Son of God,” and “God before all worlds, by whom all things were made,” (which passages are indeed so numerous and so express, that the man must needs be wilfully blind, who does not see their light;) even those things which are said of His economy, and relate to His office or prerogative⁴ as the Messiah, or Christ, and our Mediator, do certainly

¹ adeoque.² dominatrice.³ θεολογίας ejus.⁴ honorem.

imply¹ that He is more than man or a creature. The economy which is assigned to Him, necessarily (as they say) presupposes His divine nature²; and absolutely establishes it. How could it be otherwise? Our sacred writings set forth, and we all profess to believe in a Messiah or Christ, who is the Saviour of souls; who is unto us “wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption;” *i. e.* who makes us wise, just, holy, and at last perfectly happy; who at once hears the prayers of His people, wheresoever they call upon His holy name, and who must therefore be omnipresent, omniscient, and knowing the hearts³; who is always ready at hand to His Church, disseminated through the whole world; and who, by His almighty power, so defends and protects her, that neither the powers of earth nor the gates of hell can prevail at all against her; who is enthroned⁴ with God the Father, and placed on the same seat, — to be adored with divine worship, not only by us men who grovel upon earth, but by the very angels and archangels and all the host of heaven above; who, finally, at the end of the world, shall come, beaming with immeasurable glory and majesty, accompanied by angels as His ministers, to judge the world, to bring to light not only all the actions, but also the secrets of the hearts of all men who have ever lived, to banish His enemies even to hell, but to bestow on such as believe in Him, and obey His law, not riches, nor honours, nor earthly pleasures, but heavenly glory and everlasting life itself. Can all this belong to a mere man, or any created being? The man who shall so think, I confidently say, raves not against faith only, but against reason itself. This, however, by the way; I return from this digression to the course of my argument.

Sufficient¹ testimony of the ancients, as I suppose, has been by this time adduced to confute the rash assertion of Episcopius; let us now, therefore, proceed to another part of the subject.

¹ Add to these the remarkable passage in the martyr St. Cyprian's Epistle to Jubaianus, which it is unnecessary for me here to transcribe,

as it has been quoted by me in the Defence of the Nicene Creed, ii. 10. 2. [p. 288.]—GRABE.

CHAP. I.
§ 13, 14.

¹ sonant.

² θεολογίαν
ejus.

³ καρδιο-
γνώστης.

⁴ σύνθρονος.

OF THOSE WHO, IN THE FIRST CENTURY OF CHRISTIANITY, IMPUGNED THE DOCTRINE
OF THE GOSPEL, RESPECTING CHRIST AS GOD AND MAN.

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1. WE come now to the history of the Church; and whoever consults it will, I am sure, be surprised at the confidence with which Episcopius could affirm, that ^a “in the primitive Churches, which continued from the very times of the Apostles, during at least three entire centuries, the belief and profession of this special mode of the Sonship of Jesus Christ,” (that, I mean, by which He is laid down to have been before all worlds the Son of God and God,) “was not judged to be necessary to salvation.” For this assertion of his is unquestionably opposed to the truth of all ecclesiastical history. To make this clear, we must here repeat, what we have already observed at the commencement of this treatise, —that the primitive Church could not have adopted a more certain mode of declaring her judgment, on the necessity of believing any article of our religion, than by entirely rejecting from her communion those who denied it. For an anathema of the Church was regarded by Christians, in ancient times, as “the highest anticipation ¹ of the future judgment,” as Tertullian somewhere says ^b; and, accordingly, such as the Church had altogether cast out of her pale, were, until they repented and sought reconciliation ² with the Church, regarded as being also out of the state of salvation; according to the common saying, *Extra Ecclesiam nulla salus* (“Out of the Church is no salvation”). And, indeed, Episcopius himself, when he thus proposes his question, “Whether that fifth mode of the Sonship of Jesus Christ is necessary to be known and believed in order to salvation, and [whether] those, who deny it, ought to be anathematized”, thereby not obscurely allows, that to anathematize

¹ præjudicio.

² pacem.

^a [Page 339.]

^b [Summo futuri judicii præjudicio.] Apol. 39. [p. 31.]

any one for denying a doctrine amounts to the same thing as judging and pronouncing the knowledge and belief of that doctrine to be necessary to salvation. Therefore, if the primitive Churches anathematized such as denied this fifth mode of the Sonship of Jesus Christ, they must certainly ¹ be considered, on the admission of Episcopius himself, to have judged that that particular mode [of Sonship] was necessary to be known and believed in order to salvation. It is plainly evident, however, from the history of the Church, that no one during the first three centuries ever denied that mode of Sonship of Jesus Christ, (whereby, I mean, He was before all worlds begotten of God the Father Himself, God of God,) without being on that account (unless he in due time recanted and himself condemned his own heresy) anathematized by the Church, that is to say, without being excluded from all communion with the Church—as a stranger and an alien from the body of Christ; the point which we have undertaken to prove in this and the following chapter.

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2. Of the impious heresy which denies the Divinity of our Saviour, the leaders and first framers were Cerinthus and Ebion, who harassed the Church of Christ in the very age of the Apostles. The only difference between the opinions of Cerinthus and of Ebion concerning the Lord Jesus was this, that the former separated Jesus from the Christ, and laid down that Jesus was a mere man, the son of Joseph and Mary, on whom, after His baptism, the Christ descended from above, and when His passion came on, departed from Him, and returned to His own *pleroma*; whereas Ebion (for we shall hereafter shew that this was the name of a man, who first propagated his heresy in Asia, notwithstanding that some learned men entertain a different opinion) affirmed that Jesus and Christ were the same, and that Jesus Christ, the son of Joseph and Mary, was from the very beginning to the end of his life, nothing else than man. This difference we learn from Irenæus, who, in chap. 25 of his first book, thus explains the doctrines of Cerinthus^c; “But one Cerinthus in Asia taught that the world was not made by the first² God, but by a certain² primo.

^c Cerinthus autem quidam in Asia dum docuit, sed a virtute quadam non a primo Deo factum esse mun- valde separata et distante ab ea princi-

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¹ universa.

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² plus
potuisse.

14

³ ea, quæ
sunt erga
Dominum.

⁴ non simili-
ter opi-
nantur.

⁵ Christum,
nescio
quem.

power, very widely separate and distant from that chief power, which is over the whole universe¹, and ignorant of the God who is over all. He supposed, also, that Jesus was not born of a virgin, (for that he thought impossible,) but was the son of Joseph and Mary, [born] like all the rest of mankind, but excelling² all other men³ in justice, and prudence, and wisdom; and that after His baptism, the Christ, in the form of a dove, descended into Him from that chief power which is over all; and that He then declared the unknown Father, and wrought miracles; that in the end, however, the Christ flew back again from Jesus; and Jesus suffered and rose again; but that Christ continued impassible, being spiritual." Afterwards, at the very commencement of the next chapter, he thus writes of the Ebionites⁴; "Those, however, who are called Ebionites, agree, indeed, that the world was made by God; but in those things which respect the Lord⁵, they do not hold the same opinions⁴ as Cerinthus and Carpocrates." Here, if we follow the received reading, Irenæus manifestly lays down a twofold difference between the opinions of Cerinthus and the Ebionites: one respecting the creation of the world, or [respecting] God the Creator; the other respecting our Lord Jesus. Cerinthus would have it, that the world was made not by the first God, but by some power inferior to Him; whilst the Ebionites confessed that all things were created by the first God Himself, the supreme principle of all things. Again, Cerinthus taught, that a certain Christ⁵ came down from that supreme power, which is superior to the Creator of the world, upon Jesus, after His baptism, for a

palitate, quæ est super universa, et ignorante eum, qui est super omnia, Deum. Jesum autem subjecit (ὁπέρθεο), non ex Virgine natum, (impossibile enim hoc ei visum est,) fuisse autem eum Joseph et Mariæ filium, similiter ut reliqui omnes homines, et plus potuisse justitia, et prudentia, et sapientia præ omnibus; et post baptismum descendisse in eum, ab ea principalitate quæ est super omnia, Christum figura columbæ; et tunc annuntiasset incognitum Patrem, et virtutes perfecisse; in fine autem revelasse iterum Christum de Jesu; et Jesum passum esse et resurrexisse,

Christum autem impassibilem perseverasse, existentem spiritalem.—[c. 26, l. p. 105. See the Greek of this passage, Origenis, sive S. Hippolyti, Philosophumena, lib. vii. cap. 33. p. 256; lib. x. cap. 21. p. 327.]

⁴ Præ omnibus: another reading is *hominibus*. [The Benedictine Edition has *ab hominibus*.—B. *ὁπέρ πάντας τοὺς λόιτους*.—Orig. Philos.]

⁵ Qui autem dicuntur Ebionæi, consentiunt quidem mundum a Deo factum; ea autem, quæ sunt erga Dominum, non similiter ut Cerinthus et Carpocrates opinantur.—[Ibid. § 2.]

season; whereas the Ebionites did not acknowledge any such chief power, nor, consequently, any Christ, as having come upon Jesus from that chief power. If, however, you think the text should be altered, and with a very learned writer^f read *consimiliter*, instead of *non similiter*, the meaning of Irenæus, in that case also, will be, that the Ebionites thus far indeed entertained the like opinions with Cerinthus, in that they taught that Jesus was a mere man, born of Joseph and Mary, (as indeed Irenæus himself testifies in other passages, which we have alleged before,) although they rejected that other fiction of Cerinthus respecting our Lord. And, indeed, how was it possible, that they should admit that conceit about a Christ descending upon Jesus from a chief power which is superior to the Creator of the world, when they taught that the world was created by the supreme God Himself? But that this was the teaching of Ebion, Tertullian, as well as Irenæus, expressly testifies in his work, *De Præscript. adv. Hæreses*, c. 48^g, in these words; "This man's [Cerinthus'] successor was Hebion, who did not in every point agree with Cerinthus, inasmuch as he asserted that the world was made by God, not by angels." Irenæus and Tertullian wrote this of the earliest Ebionites. The next¹, posterior. age witnessed two classes of Ebionites; one, who denied both the Divinity of our Lord, and His birth of the Virgin; the other, who, whilst they denied that Christ was God, yet agreed with Catholics in allowing that He was conceived and born of the Virgin Mary by the Holy Ghost; of these we shall treat hereafter.

3. With regard, however, to the dogma which Cerinthus and Ebion held in common, namely, that our Saviour Jesus was a mere man, not the true Son of God, begotten of God the Father Himself before all worlds, we have already

^f Pearson, in his *Vindiciæ Ignatiance*, part ii. chap. 2, near the end. This did not occur to me, while I was writing my notes on Irenæus, although I advanced the same conjecture there. GRABE. [The Benedictine Editor does not agree with Bull and Grabe.—B. The Greek of the passage in *Origenis Philosophumena*, confirms the conjecture of Pearson, Bull, and Grabe;

reading, *ἑμῶς*, lib. vii. c. 34. p. 257. See also, lib. x. c. 22. p. 328.]

^g Hujus (Cerinthi) successor Hebion fuit, Cerintho non in omni parte consentiens, quod a Deo dicat mundum, non ab angelis, factum.—[Page 221. But the last eight chapters of this work are wanting in some MSS.; and it is doubted, among critics, whether or not they are Tertullian's.—B.]

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¹ annun-
tiationem.

² unde.

³ τὰ παρα-
λείποντα.

⁴ circum-
scripsit.

⁵ delira-
menta.

shewn with sufficient clearness out of the writings of Ignatius and Irenæus, how execrable it was thought by the Church of the Apostles and that of the age nearest to it; and how alien from the Church of Christ, and consequently from salvation by Christ, they who taught that doctrine were held to be in the first ages. To this testimony should here be added, what Jerome^h repeats from the records of ancient writers; "That the Apostle John wrote his Gospel, at the request of the bishops of Asia, in opposition to Cerinthus, and other heretics, and chiefly against the then rising doctrine of the Ebionites, who assert, that Christ did not exist before [His birth of] Mary." And with regard to Cerinthus, Irenæus agrees with Jerome, in book iii. chapter 11, where he writes expressly, that the Apostle Johnⁱ "by the publication¹ of the Gospel, wished to remove that error, which had been sown among men by Cerinthus." From all this² it may be concluded, that the bishops of Asia, (that is, of those parts in which Cerinthus and Ebion first taught their heresy,) as soon as they had observed, that those heretics had burst, or rather crept, into their churches, at once called a synod, and all met together like good shepherds, "against the spoilers of Christ's flock," (ἐπὶ λυμεῶνας τῆς Χριστοῦ ποιμένης,) as Eusebius^k says of the Council of Antioch, which was assembled against Paul of Samosata; and having taken counsel together as to the means by which they might promptly repress the heresies which were daily gaining ground, they immediately besought the assistance of the Apostle John, who was still alive; and that on this occasion, and also with the view of supplying what the other Evangelists had omitted³, he wrote his Gospel; at the commencement of which, he by his apostolic authority circumscribed⁴ (to use the word, which Irenæus uses in the passage last cited^m) the ravings⁵ of Cerinthus, and Ebion, and other heretics of that age,

^h Johannes apostolus . . . evangelium scripsit, rogatus ab Asiæ episcopis, adversus Cerinthum, aliosque hereticos, et maxime tunc Ebionitarum dogma consurgens, qui asserunt, Christum ante Mariam non fuisse.—Catal. Script. Eccles. in Johanne. [vol. ii. p. 830.]

ⁱ [Johannes Domini discipulus] volens per evangelii annuntiationem

auferre eum, qui a Cerintho inseminalus erat hominibus, errorem.—[cap. xi. p. 188.]

^k Hist. Eccl. vii. 27.

^l See Jerome *ubi supra*.

^m [Omnia igitur talia circumscribere volens discipulus Domini, et regulam veritatis constituere in Ecclesia, &c. —Ibid.]

“and established’ the rule of truth thenceforward in the Church.”

CHAP. II.
§ 3, 4.

4. And indeed any one, moderately acquainted with the history of the heresies of the first century, who attentively reads the opening of John’s Gospel, cannot but at once see that the Apostle therein pointed out, as it were, with his finger all those heretics, and pierced through their impious doctrine with his apostolic sword. In verse 1 he asserts, in opposition to Cerinthus and Ebion, the divine nature of our Saviour; “In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.” The Word was in the beginning, much more therefore was He before Joseph and Mary, and He was God, and therefore was not a mere *man* (ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος). The doctrine of Cerinthus and other heretics before him, respecting the creation of the world, the Evangelist alludes to in verse 3, “All things were made by Him” (the Word). For those heretics, as has been observed just above in this chapter, held that this world was created by inferior powers, far removed from the supreme God, and altogether alien from Him, and that, against the will of the supreme God. On the contrary, the Evangelist teaches, that all things were made by the Word, who was with God, and was Himself God. In the same verse, in opposition to the same heretics, he adds; “And without Him was not anything made that was madeⁿ,”—words which any one who did not attend to the intention of the Apostle, would suppose to be merely a useless tautology. The truth, however, is, that those heretics (as Grotius has rightly observed) maintained, that the things which we behold, *i.e.* this visible world, had one creator; whilst the things invisible, and such as are above this world, had other creators, each in its own several *pleroma*; nothing therefore of the things that were made is excepted by John from the works of the Logos. Again, in verses 10, 11, the Evangelist most evidently aims a blow at the same heretics; “He was in the world, and the world was made by Him, and the world knew Him not.

¹ consti-
tuit.

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ⁿ [It is strange that our author has thus quoted these words, and did not observe, that all the Antenicene Fathers inserted a full stop after the

words “not anything;” joining the clause, “what was made,” to the following sentence.—B.]

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¹ alienum
opus.

² assereret.

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³ proprius
ipsius.

He came unto His own^o, and His own received Him not.” I mean this; it was the well-known opinion of Cerinthus and all other heretics, who separated the maker of this world from the supreme God, that Christ our Saviour came from the chief power supreme over all, into this world, as into the work of another¹; and that the purpose of His coming was to deliver men from the dominion and service of the Creator of the universe to some kind of freedom, or rather licentiousness. In opposition to these the Apostle teaches, that our Saviour, the Word and Son of God, came from His Father into this world, as into His own house and work, formed, *i. e.* and made by Himself; in order that (as it presently follows in verses 12, 13,) He might bring² such as should receive Him, to the true liberty and adoption of sons of God; although ungrateful men, for the most part, did not acknowledge Him their Creator and Redeemer. That this is the true and genuine meaning and intention of the Apostle in those words I am thoroughly persuaded, and so accordingly Irenæus understood them, iii. 11^p, where he quotes the passage, and thus comments on it³; “But according to Marcion, and those who are like him,” (Cerinthus, that is, and other precursors of Marcion, whom Tertullian calls *premature and abortive Marcionites*, Against Marc. iii. 8^r), “neither was the world made by Him, nor did He come unto His own, but to what was another’s.” So likewise in v. 18^s, he says, that John, at the commencement of his Gospel, “evidently shews to those who are willing to hear, that is, who have ears, that there is one God the Father over all, and one Word of God which is through all, by whom all things were made; and that this world is His very own³, and was made by Him at the will of the Father, and not by angels, nor through apostasy, and revolt, and ignorance, &c.” Furthermore, against the

^o In the Greek, εἰς τὰ ἴδια, *i. e.* as though *into his own house [or domain]*. See John xvi. 32, and xix. 27; Luke ii. 49; and Nicholas Fuller on Miscellaneous Passages of Scripture, book iv. 17, and Acts xxi. 6.

^p See also Novatian, On the Trinity, chap. 14.

³ Secundum autem Marcionem et eos qui similes sunt ei, neque mundus per eum factus est, neque in sua venit, sed in aliena.—p. 188.

^r Præcoquos et abortivos Marcionitas.—[p. 401.]

^s Manifeste ostendens audire volentibus, id est aures habentibus, quoniam unus Deus Pater super omnes, et unum Verbum Dei, quod per omnes, per quem omnia facta sunt, et quoniam hic mundus proprius ipsius, et per ipsum factus est voluntate Patris, et non per angelos, neque per apostasiam, et defectionem, et ignorantiam, &c.—[p. 315.]

Simonians, Saturninians, and other Docetæ, the Apostle teaches that the Word, or Son of God, was truly incarnate, and made man, verse 14; "And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, and we beheld His glory, the glory as of the Only-begotten of the Father," &c. Besides, by this one statement the Evangelist has convicted¹ all the heretics of his own age; since, as Irenæus has rightly said in a passage which has been already repeatedly quoted, viz. iii. 11^t; "That the Word of God was made flesh, is not in accordance with the views of any of the heretics." For the heretics who at that period entertained any false opinion respecting the person of the Lord Jesus (as we have observed somewhere already), may all be divided into two classes. One was that of the Phantasiasts, who, while acknowledging the manifest Godhead in our Saviour, took away from Him the human nature, thinking the conjoining of God with man utterly unworthy of the Divine majesty. Of these heretics Novatian wrote well in his Book on the Trinity, chapter 18ⁿ; "Other heretics also embraced the manifest Divinity of Christ, so far as even to say that He was without flesh, and to take away entirely the humanity which He assumed², lest they should impair³ in Him the power of the divine name, by associating with it, as they supposed, a human birth. Of this view, however, we do not approve, but yet we adduce it as an argument that Christ is so clearly God, that some have even thought Him to be only God, taking away His manhood^x." The other class of heretics, on the contrary side, acknowledged a human nature only in our Jesus, as the Cerinthians and Ebionites. However, it is but too plain that both classes denied that the Word of God was made flesh; that is, that Christ was God and man. Lastly, in verse 17, the Apostle (as Grotius has remarked) incidentally confutes a heresy, which Cerinthus and Ebion

¹ conclusit.

² suscep-
tum.

³ decoque-
rent.

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* Secundum nullam sententiam hæreticorum Verbum Dei caro factum est.—[p. 189.]

u Alii quoque hæretici usque adeo Christi manifestam amplexati sunt divinitatem, ut dixerint illum fuisse sine carne, et totum illi susceptum detraxerint hominem, ne decoquerent in illo divini nominis potestatem, si humanam illi sociassent, ut arbitrabantur, nativitatem. Quod tamen nos non probamus, sed argumentum afferimus,

usque adeo Christum esse Deum, ut quidam illum, subtracto homine, tantummodo putarint Deum.—[p. 718.]

x Tertullian also observes that those heretics denied "that Christ was come in the flesh, because they presumed it to be incredible that God became flesh."—"Negantes Christum in carne venisse, . . . quoniam incredibile præsumpserant, Deum carnem."—Adv. Marc. iii. 8. [p. 401.]

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held in common, as to the observance of the law of Moses being necessary to salvation ; “ The law was given by Moses ; but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ.”

5. But the holy Apostle, in his first Epistle also, manifestly aims a blow at the same heretics, and calls them all by the one name of *Antichrists*, as has been observed by Irenæus, Tertullian, and others among the ancients. And, indeed, the beginning of this Epistle exactly corresponds to the commencement of the Gospel of John, since in both the Divine¹ opens and reveals that great mystery of godliness respecting God manifested in the flesh, unfolding with no little dignity of language both the doctrine of the Divinity² and that of the Incarnation³ of our Saviour. With regard to the Gospel this is clear ; and the Epistle thus begins ; “ That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled of the Word of Life ; (for the Life was manifested, and we have seen it, and bear witness and shew unto you that eternal Life, which was with the Father, and was manifested unto us ;) that [I say] which we have seen and heard, declare we unto you, &c.” Here, in opposition to the Docetæ, who said that our Saviour was not really man, John affirms that he himself and the other Apostles had both heard, and with their own very eyes beheld, and also with their hands handled, “ the Word of Life,” or life-giving Word (τὸν λόγον τῆς ζωῆς) ; thus calling all the appropriate senses to bear witness to the reality of His incarnation. Against those, on the other hand, who maintained that the Lord Jesus was a mere man, the Apostle teaches that the Word was ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς, “ from the beginning,” (i.e. of the creation, as Gen. i. 1, and John i. 1,) and, consequently, that He did not then first begin to exist when He was born of Mary. In the same passage, and against the same [heretics], he asserts that “ the Life, the eternal Life,” (again meaning the Word, see John i. 4, and 1 John v. 20,) was previously “ with the Father,” πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα : (the same in meaning as the πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, John i. 1 ;) but afterwards, that is in the flesh which He took upon Him, He was made manifest unto men. This is the simple and obvious sense of this passage, which, accordingly, was the received sense in the

¹ ὁ θεόλογος.

² θεολογίαν.

³ οἰκονομίαν.

ancient Church, as Tertullian informs us in his Treatise against Praxeas, chap. 15. The novel interpretation which they put on the passage, who make the “Word of Life” to signify the gospel, or doctrine of eternal life, is certainly most absurd. For, not to mention other objections to such an interpretation, what sense, I ask, would there be in saying that the Apostles had not only heard the gospel, but had beheld it with their own eyes, and handled it with their own hands? But the mutual agreement of the commencement of St. John’s Gospel and the beginning of his first Epistle was long ago observed by that great man, Dionysius of Alexandria, in the second book of his work Upon the Promises (*Περὶ ἐπαγγελιῶν*), in the following words; “For the Gospel and the Epistle mutually harmonize, and begin alike. The one says, ‘In the beginning was the Word;’ the other, ‘That which was from the beginning.’ The Gospel says, ‘And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt amongst us; and we beheld His glory, the glory as of the Only-begotten of the Father.’ The Epistle says the same, with a very little variation; ‘That which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled, of the Word of Life; and the Life was manifested.’ Such is his prelude¹; in which he aims, as he plainly intimates in what follows, at those who alleged that the Lord was not come in the flesh. Wherefore he purposely adds; ‘And we testify that we have seen, and declare unto you that eternal life, which was with the Father, and was manifested unto us. That which we have seen and heard declare we unto you.’ He is consistent with himself², and does not wander from his proposed subject.”

¹ ταῦτα
προανα-
κροῦεται.
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² ἔχε-
ται
αὐτοῦ.

6. In the second chapter of the same Epistle, after the Apostle had warned the faithful, that there were even then

Ἐ Συμβάδουσι μὲν γὰρ ἀλλήλοις τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ ἡ ἐπιστολὴ, ὁμοίως τε ἄρχονται. τὸ μὲν φησιν, Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος· ἡ δὲ, Ὁ ἦν ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς· τὸ μὲν φησι, Καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν· καὶ ἑθεασάμεθα τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, δόξαν ὡς μονογενοῦς παρὰ Πατρός· ἡ δὲ τὰ αὐτὰ ὀμικρῶ παραλλαγμένα· Ὁ δὲ θεασάμεν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν, ὃ ἑθεασάμεθα, καὶ αἱ χεῖρες ἡμῶν ἐψηλάφησαν, περὶ τοῦ λόγου τῆς ζωῆς· καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἐφανερώθη. ταῦτα

γὰρ προανακροῦεται, διατεινόμενος, ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς ἐδήλωσε, πρὸς τοὺς οὐκ ἐν σαρκὶ φάσκοντας ἐληλυθέναι τὸν Κύριον. διὸ καὶ συνήψεν ἐπιμελῶς, καὶ ὃ ἐωράκαμεν, μαρτυροῦμεν, καὶ ἀπαγγέλλομεν ὑμῖν τὴν ζωὴν τὴν αἰώνιον, ἣτις ἦν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, καὶ ἐφανερώθη ἡμῖν· ὃ ἐωράκαμεν καὶ ἀκηκόαμεν, ἀπαγγέλλομεν ὑμῖν. ἔχεται αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῶν προθέσεων οὐκ ἀφίσταται.—Apud Euseb. Eccl. Hist. vii. 25. p. 275. edit. Valesii. [p. 354. et Dionysii Op. p. 80.]

[45]

¹ alium.

17

many antichrists, and that they had gone forth out of the very bosom of the Apostolic Church, verses 18, 19, (he gives the name *antichrists* to those heretics, who taught false and impious doctrines respecting the person of Jesus Christ,) then in verses 22, 23, he designates some of them by their proper characteristics; "Who is a liar, but he that denieth that Jesus is the Christ? He is antichrist, that denieth the Father and the Son: whosoever denieth the Son, the same hath not the Father." Among the heretics of the first century, who falsely assumed the name of Christians, strange to say, there were those who denied, that Jesus was the Christ. The Cerinthians, for instance, as we have shewn from Irenæus in the beginning of the present chapter, separated Jesus from Christ, teaching that Jesus was one¹ [being], and Christ another. Accordingly Epiphanius, Heresy xxviii., which is that of the Cerinthians, expressly testifies, that they taught, οὐ τὸν Ἰησοῦν εἶναι Χριστὸν, "that Jesus is not the Christ." Against such heretics these words of John were directed, "Who is a liar, but he that denieth that Jesus is the Christ?" As well as those in chap. v. verse 1; "Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ, is born of God;" as Irenæus, the best interpreter of the Apostle, informs us, iii. 18². Indeed, you would seek in vain for others, to whom those passages would more suitably apply. For it is most manifest from the context, that the Apostle is not speaking of those avowed opponents of our religion, who denied that Jesus was the Christ or Messiah foretold by the prophets, and taught that another Messiah was to be expected, but of the false prophets, who deceived [men] under the mask of a Christian profession. The following words of the Apostle; "He is antichrist, that denieth the Father and the Son; whosoever denieth the Son, the same hath not the Father;" evidently enough glance at the opinion which was held by Cerinthus and Ebion in common. For both of them utterly denied, that Jesus was the true Son of God, begotten of God the Father, before [His birth of] Mary, and so before all created things; and, therefore, in the judgment of the Apostle, neither did they acknowledge God the Father in reality; since indeed, after the revelation

² [c. 16. pp. 206, 207.]

of the Gospel, no one can rightly worship or believe in God the Father, without, at the same time, embracing God the Son.

CHAP. II.
§ 6, 7.

7. Again, in chap. iv. verse 1 of his Epistle, the apostle of Christ is guarding Christians against the heretics of his own age, in these words; “Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits, whether they are of God; because many false prophets are gone out into the world.” And in the verses which follow he proposes two criteria, whereby those false prophets might be distinguished; one of which clearly applies to the Docetæ, the other to the Cerinthians and the Ebionites. The Docetæ are pointed out in the 2d and 3d verses; “Hereby know ye the Spirit of God; every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is of God: and every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is not of God; and this is that spirit of antichrist, whereof you have heard that it should come, and even now already is it in the world.” On this passage of the Apostle we have a trustworthy commentator, Polycarp, I mean, the disciple of John, who quotes the latter part of the passage in his Epistle to the Philippians, and expressly expounds it of heretics, who professed the name of Christ, and not of open enemies of Christianity, who denied that Jesus was the true Messiah, on the ground of His advent in the flesh, that is, in a state of humility (as Grotius, quite incorrectly, understood the Apostle.) For there, after exhorting the Philippians to serve the Lord Jesus with fear and all reverence, the apostolic man immediately adds^a; “Be ye zealous concerning that which is good, avoiding offences and false brethren, and such as bear the name of the Lord in hypocrisy, who cause foolish men to go astray, ‘for every one that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is antichrist;’ and he who confesses not the testimony of the cross, is of the devil.” There were therefore false brethren, professing the name of Christ, who denied that Jesus Christ was come in the flesh. This is also plain enough from the

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^a ζηλωταὶ περὶ τὸ καλὸν, ἀπεχόμενοι σκανδάλων, καὶ τῶν ψευδαδέλφων, καὶ τῶν ἐν ὑποκρίσει φερόντων τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Κυρίου, οἵτινες ἀποπλανῶσι κενοῦς ἀνθρώπους. πᾶς γὰρ, ὃς ἂν μὴ ὁμολογῇ

Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθέναι, ἀντίχριστός ἐστι· καὶ ὃς ἂν μὴ ὁμολογῇ τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ σταυροῦ, ἐκ τοῦ Διαβόλου ἐστὶ. [§ 6. p. 188.]

object of the Apostle John, in giving the marks and signs by which the faithful might discern those false prophets from orthodox teachers. For what need was there of marks, to distinguish the open and avowed enemies of the Christian religion? Now who those heretics really were who, while professing Christianity, denied that Jesus Christ was come in the flesh, we have stated several times already; for Menander, Saturninus, and other Docetæ of the first century (whose heresy was reproduced by Marcion at the very time when Polycarp wrote these words), utterly denied that our Lord had come in true human flesh into this world, or had truly suffered and been crucified; and accordingly, as Polycarp says, by no means confessed the testimony of the cross.

8. This heresy is also frequently censured by another disciple and intimate friend of John, Ignatius, in his Epistles, and especially in that to the Smyrneans, which is almost entirely directed against that pernicious doctrine. In one place he says^b; "For in what respect does a man benefit me, if he praises me, but blasphemes my Lord, not acknowledging Him to be incarnate¹? He, who does not confess this, completely denies Him, and is in a state of death²." Now who does not see that the expression of Ignatius in this passage, "not acknowledging Him to be incarnate," (*σαρκοφόρον*), is just the same as John's, "confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh" (*ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα*)? But a little before in the same Epistle Ignatius had laid open the heresy of the Docetæ, as opposed to the Catholic doctrine, in these words^c; "And He (the Lord) truly suffered, as He also truly raised up Himself, not as certain unbelievers assert, that it was in appearance that He suffered, whereas they themselves are only in appearance." The sense of which is; they who teach that our Lord was made man and suffered as a phantom and in appearance only, are themselves to be regarded indeed as Christians only as phantoms and in appearance. Presently after he confutes those phantasiasts from the remarkable history of Jesus shewing to His disci-

¹ *σαρκοφόρον.*

² *ὡν νεκροφόρος.*

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^b τί γάρ με ὠφελεῖ τις, εἰ ἐμὲ ἐπαινεῖ, τὸν δὲ κυρίον μου βλασφημεῖ, μὴ ὁμολογῶν αὐτὸν σαρκοφόρον; ὁ δὲ τοῦτο μὴ λέγων, τελείως αὐτὸν ἀπῆρνηται, ὡν νεκροφόρος.—Edit. Voss. p.4. [§ 5. p.36.]

^c καὶ ἀληθῶς ἔπαθεν, ὡς καὶ ἀληθῶς ἀνέστησεν ἑαυτὸν, οὐχ' ὥσπερ ἄπιστοί τινες λέγουσιν, τὸ δοκεῖν αὐτὸν πεπονηθῆναι, αὐτοὶ τὸ δοκεῖν ὄντες.—Page 2. [§ 2. p. 34.]

ples, and especially to Thomas, after His resurrection, His body, and the wounds inflicted thereon, to be handled¹. On this he observes^d; "And immediately they touched Him, and believed, being subdued² by His flesh and His Spirit;" that is, they were convinced by that trial³, and believed that the Lord Jesus was both very Man and very God. For "the Spirit" (πνεῦμα) in Christ, especially when It is opposed to His flesh, as we have shewn elsewhere^e, is used by writers of the first century to signify His Divine Nature⁴. For, as is plain, Ignatius manifestly alludes to the confession of Thomas when, after seeing and handling the wounds of Christ, he burst out into the exclamation, "My Lord and my God!" John xx. 28. The holy man presently designates those heretics τὰ θηρία ἀνθρωπόμορφα, "beasts in human form;" meaning that, inasmuch as they taught in opposition to what was manifestly true, that our Lord was man only in appearance, they deserved to be accounted as brute beasts, clothed with the form of men, not as men endued with rational faculties. Lastly, he observes of the same persons, that they entirely abstained from the Lord's supper^f; "Because they did not confess, that the eucharist was the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which had suffered for our sins." That is, they did not believe that our Lord was made very man, and had truly suffered on the cross, (which was expressed by Polycarp's words, "not confessing the testimony of the cross,") and accordingly they refused to celebrate the memorial of our Lord's passion. These most clear testimonies of two disciples of John allow us not to doubt, but that the false prophets and the antichrists, who, the Apostle says, denied that Christ had come in the flesh, were no other than Menander, Saturninus, Basilides and the other phantasiasts of the first century. And that the Apostle did in the passage in question refer to these, is observed, after Ignatius and Polycarp, by Irenæus, by Tertullian, and by almost all the ancient fathers, who lived near to the time of the Apostles.

9. Let us proceed with the Apostle. After some observa-

CHAP. II.
§ 7—9.

¹ contrectanda.

² κρατη-

θέντες.

³ experimeto.

⁴ τὴν θεϊαν φύσιν.

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^d καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτοῦ ἤψαντο, καὶ ἐπίστευσαν, κρατηθέντες τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ πνεύματι. — Page 3. [§ 3. p. 35.]

^e Def. Fid. Nic. i. 2. 5. [p. 48.]

^f [εὐχαριστίας καὶ προσευχῆς ἀπέχονται] διὰ τὸ μὴ ὁμολογεῖν τὴν εὐχαριστίαν σάρκα εἶναι τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὴν ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν παθοῦσαν. — Page 5. [§ 7. p. 36.]

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¹ χαρακτή-
ρισμῶ de-
signat.

² nota.

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tions in the same chapter, he next points out, in verse 15, by its characteristic mark¹, a second heresy concerning the person of Christ, the very opposite to the mad conceits of the Docetæ; "Whosoever shall confess that Jesus is the Son of God, God dwelleth in him, and he in God;" the opposite clause, which was expressed in the former mark², is here left to be understood; "But whosoever shall not confess that Jesus is the Son of God, God dwelleth not in him, nor he in God." There cannot however be a doubt, that the Apostle in these words requires a confession of that Son of God, whom he had already spoken of in part in this Epistle, and whom he still more fully sets forth in his Gospel,—I mean, the Son of God, who is the Word of God the Father, who was in the beginning, and was with God, and was Himself God, by whom all things were made, &c. That the true and proper Son of God, who was born of God the Father Himself before every creature, is meant in these passages, is not denied by the adversaries with whom our present controversy lies, and indeed is most manifest to all, who are not blind in the light of noon. Neither Cerinthus, however, nor Ebion after him, acknowledged that our Jesus was the Son of God in such a sense as this, for they both taught, that Jesus was a mere man; who had no existence before [His birth of] Mary; and therefore they both, in the Apostle's judgment, were aliens from God. And because at that time the heresy of Cerinthus was increasing more than any other, the Apostle in this Epistle throughout commends, urges, and inculcates that faith, by which we believe that Jesus is the Son of God. See in addition to the passages already quoted, chap. iii. verse 23, also verses 10—13, 20. But these notes, those, I mean, which are given here in the fourth, and also in the second chapter of this Epistle, were quite sufficient to enable the faithful of the apostolic age to distinguish all the heretics who at that time taught false and impious doctrines concerning the person of our Saviour. Of these notes this is the sum; that every teacher who confessed one Jesus Christ, the very Son of God, who was truly made man for the sake of man's salvation, was of God; (that is, as Estius well observes, in so far as he acknowledged and taught that particular doctrine;) but that, on the other hand,

whosoever did not confess this, was to be regarded as a false prophet, and an antichrist. Those notes, however, are chiefly insisted on by the Apostle, which mark the heretics, who denied either that our Saviour was true man or true God; as Tertullian, *De Præscript. adv. Hæres.* c. 33^g, has observed in the following words; “John in his Epistle calls those especially antichrists, who denied that Christ was come in the flesh, and those who did not think that Jesus was the Son of God; the former opinion was maintained by Marcion” (and before him by Menander, Saturninus and others), “the latter by Hebion.” I have pursued this subject at greater length; because from this it is clear, not only from the remains of the most ancient fathers, but also from all the writings of the Apostles, that there were even in the very age of the Apostles those who denied the divinity of Christ our Lord, and who (far from being considered as brethren and true members of the Church) were for that very reason accounted by the Apostles as heretics, and even as antichrists. Moreover, from this it is also manifest, that, as the doctrine respecting the incarnation of the Son of God, (or respecting Christ the God-man¹, true God and true Man,) was from the very commencement of the Gospel variously assailed by various heretics, so was it at all times most religiously preserved and guarded by all means and with all zéâl by the true pastors of the Church, as the very head and foundation of the Christian faith.

19

¹ Christo
θεανθρώπου.

10. Now touching those God-denying² heretics of the first century, the Cerinthians and the Ebionites, I should refrain from saying anything more, had not the author of an impious treatise, under the title of *Irenicum Irenicorum*, put forth a most monstrous notion about the Ebionites, which we must certainly not pass over. For if that be true which this author strains every nerve to prove, there will plainly be an end not only of the necessity of the article of our Saviour’s divinity, but also of the defence of its very truth; and the Ebionites, at least the later ones, so far from being heretics, must be regarded as having been the only faithful guardians of the doctrine and tradition of the Apostles

^g In Epistola eos maxime antichristos vocat (Johannes), qui Christum negarent in carne venisse, et qui non

putarent, Jesum esse Filium Dei; illud Marcion, hoc Hebion vindicavit.— [page 214.]

concerning Christ. For indeed he boldly affirms¹, that the Ebionites (such, I mean, as acknowledged Christ's birth of a Virgin, but denied His divinity) were really no other than the Nazarenes, the Christians of Jerusalem, the first and most ancient of all Christians; who, after receiving the faith of Christ, continued to observe the law, and who scrupulously maintained and handed down the doctrine of the mere humanity of Christ¹, which, as he would have us think², they had been taught by the Apostles; their Church remaining until the age of Adrian, by whom they were driven from their country, and thenceforward were called in contempt by other Christians, Ebionites, and accounted as heretics. Now, with this discovery of his own, this very vain man is wonderfully well pleased, and vaunts of it much, as a tradition, which, he says, has a far greater antiquity and certainty than all the traditions of the Catholics for the Divinity of the Son.

¹ de
Christo
ψιλῶ
ἀνθρώπῳ.
² scilicet.

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11. It is, however, clear enough from what we have already said, that this is a most foolish and shameless fable of the heretic's own. For, even if the sacred oracles which we have adduced were silent, which of the ancients, which of those apostolic writers whom we have quoted, ever heard this tradition even mentioned? Which of them, rather, has not given us his testimony in confirmation of the very opposite tradition? But this much boasted tradition can be refuted from ecclesiastical history, with the utmost facility and certainty. For Eusebius expressly testifies, that he had been informed out of the writings of the ancients, that all the fifteen bishops, who were of the circumcision, and presided over the Church of Jerusalem down to the time of Adrian, embraced the pure and sincere knowledge of Christ. He thus writes concerning them in his Eccl. Hist. iv. 5ⁱ; "I have not been able to find anywhere the dates of the bishops of Jerusalem preserved in writing; all of them, however, are reported to have sat but a very short time. But this I have learned from written records, that up to the siege of the Jews, in the reign of Adrian, fifteen bishops pre-

¹ Irenic. p. 73. and p. 111, &c.

ⁱ [τῶν γε μὴν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐπισκόπων τοὺς χρόνους γραφῇ σωζομένων οὐδαμῶς εὗρον. κομιδῇ γὰρ οὐκ βραχυ-

βλους αὐτοὺς λόγος κατέχει γενέσθαι. τοσούτον δ' ἐξ ἐγγράφων παρείληφα, ὥς μέχρι τῆς κατὰ Ἀδριανὸν Ἰουδαίων πολιορκίας πεντεκαίδεκα τὸν ἀριθμὸν

sided over that Church in unbroken succession; all of whom, they say, were Hebrews by origin, and had received the knowledge of Christ sincerely." But, at any rate, Eusebius would on no account have said this of them, if he had learnt from those ancient authorities, that they entertained the same views of Christ as the Ebionites; for they are the very men whom he condemns as impious, because they denied that Christ was God the Word before all ages; and further declares them to be brought under the thralldom of the devil. For in his Eccl. Hist. iii. 27, he thus writes of the two sorts of Ebionites^k; "Others, whom the malignant dæmon was unable to remove altogether from the religion of Christ, having found weak in other points, he reduced them under his power. These were fitly termed Ebionites by the ancients; as entertaining very poor and low notions of Christ. For they deemed Him to be a mere common¹ man, being nothing else than a man, who by advancing in virtue had become righteous, but was begotten from the union of man with Mary. Moreover, they regarded the observance of the law to be indispensably necessary to themselves, as though they could not be saved by faith in Christ alone, and a life in accordance therewith. Others besides them, bearing the same name, avoided, indeed, the absurd opinion of the former, not denying that Christ was born of the Virgin and of the Holy Ghost: yet these also, equally with the others, refused to acknowledge that He preexisted, as being God the Word and Wisdom, BUT WERE PERVERTED WITH THE SAME IMPIETY AS THE FORMER; especially as they were zealous, like them, to observe punctiliously the bodily service of the law."

¹ simpli-
cem ac
vulgarem.

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αὐτοὶ γεγόνασιν ἐπισκόπων διαδοχαί] οὓς πάντας Ἑβραίους φασὶν ὄντας ἀνέκαθεν, τὴν γνώσιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ γνησίως καταδέξασθαι. — [Euseb. E. H. iv. 4. Bp. Bull cites the old Latin version, except in the last clause.]

^k [ἄλλους δὲ ὁ πονηρὸς δαίμων, τῆς περὶ τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ διαθέσεως ἀδυνατῶν ἐκσετερίζετο. Ἑβραίους τοῦτους οἰκείως ἐπεφῆμζον οἱ πρῶτοι, πτωχῶς καὶ ταπεινῶς τὰ περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δοξάζοντας· λιτὸν μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ κοινὸν ἡγοῦντο· κατὰ προκοπὴν ἡθους αὐτοῦ μόνον ἄνθρωπον δεδικαιωμένον, ἐξ ἀνδρὸς τε κοινωνίας καὶ τῆς Μαρίας

γεγεννημένον· δεῖν δὲ πάντως αὐτοῖς νομικῆς θρησκείας, ὥς μὴ ἂν διὰ μόνης τῆς εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν πίστεως καὶ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὴν βίου σωθησόμενοι. ἄλλοι δὲ παρὰ τοῦτους τῆς αὐτῆς ὄντες προσηγορίας τὴν μὲν τῶν εἰρημένων ἔκτοπον διεδίδρασκον ἀποτίαν, ἐκ παρθένου καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος μὴ ἀρνούμενοι γεγονέναι τὸν Κύριον,] οὐ μὴν ἔθ' ὁμοίως καὶ οὗτοι προὔπαρχεν αὐτὸν, Θεὸν λόγον ὄντα καὶ σοφίαν, ὁμολογούντες, τῇ τῶν προτέρων περιτρέποντο δυσσεβεῖα· μάλιστα ὅτε καὶ τὴν σωματικὴν περὶ τὸν νόμον λατρείαν ὁμοίως ἐκείνοις περιέπειν ἐσπούδαζον. — [Ibid. iii. 27.]

Unquestionably, from a comparison of these two passages of Eusebius, it becomes very clear, that the later Ebionites (whom Nicephorus, in his Eccl. Hist. xiii. 13, calls "the less ¹") differed from the first Christians of Jerusalem in two respects.

1. Those Ebionites entertained impious opinions concerning Christ; inasmuch as they did not by any means allow, that He existed before His nativity in the flesh as God the Word and Wisdom; whereas the first Christians of Jerusalem embraced the knowledge of Christ in sincerity. 2. Those Ebionites insisted on the Mosaical rites, as absolutely necessary to be observed, and said that the faith of Christ without the observance of them was not sufficient for salvation. This Eusebius expressly asserts of the earlier or greater Ebionites, whilst of the later Ebionites also he affirms that they were zealous of the law of Moses "*equally with the others*" (*ὁμοίως ἐκείνοις*); and further, he not obscurely intimates that it was in this very point that their impiety in part consisted. For Eusebius' meaning manifestly is, that those Ebionites had superadded the pernicious dogma of the absolute necessity of observing the law of Moses to that other impiety of theirs, which was indeed very great and of itself deadly beyond measure, — I mean, their denial of the divinity of Christ; thus they were heretics and aliens from salvation, on more than one account. Upon the Christians of Jerusalem whom he mentions, however, Eusebius fastens no charge of heresy, although they also observed circumcision and other Mosaic rites; (according, that is, to the practice which the Apostles themselves had originally conceded to their infirmity;) the reason of which, no doubt, was, that they both entertained right views about Christ, and did not at all require from other Christians of the Gentiles, the observance of the ceremonial law. Indeed, if they had required this, they would have directly opposed the decree of the Council of Jerusalem, at which James, the first bishop of that see, presided. It is not to be doubted, that Eusebius thought those Christians of Jerusalem culpable, at least such of them as lived after the destruction of the temple by Titus, because they did not at length perceive that the ceremonial worship, which had been prescribed in the law of Moses, was utterly abolished. Nevertheless, he commends them for this, because, meanwhile,

they did not obtrude upon other Christians those legal rites which they themselves observed ; and because in other particulars they sincerely embraced the Catholic faith, and especially that part of it which relates to the person of Christ our Lord.

CHAP. II.
§ 11, 12.

12. But with this testimony of Eusebius, respecting the primitive Church of Jerusalem and its bishops, Sulpicius Severus, an historian of very great weight, quite agrees, and even throws additional light on it, *Sacr. Hist. ii. 45¹*, where he thus writes of them ; “ Inasmuch as the Christians were supposed to be, for the most part, a Jewish body, (for in those days the Church at Jerusalem had its Bishop only of the circumcision,) he (Adrian) ordered a cohort to be constantly on guard, for the purpose of preventing all Jews from entering Jerusalem. This indeed turned out to the advantage of the Christian faith ; *because, at that time, nearly all believed in Christ as God under the observance of the law.* The Lord doubtless so ordering that dispensation, that the freedom of the faith and of the Church might be delivered from thralldom to the law.” He here said, “ *nearly all,*” because at that period there were even at Jerusalem faithful men from among the Gentiles, although fewer in number, who believed in the Divinity of Christ without any observance of the law. Now that which Eusebius relates from ancient authority, of those Christians of the circumcision at Jerusalem,—that they “ had sincerely embraced the knowledge (or faith) of Christ,” is here testified of the same persons (only somewhat more clearly) by Sulpicius, when he affirms that “ they believed in Christ as God.” Nothing certainly can be more manifest than this ; so that if the Nazarenes, as they were called, were (as nearly all the learned are agreed) the descendants and offspring of the Christians of the circumcision at Jerusalem ; and if that be true, which the author of the *Irenicum* says, that they held Christ to be merely man, we

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¹ Quia Christiani ex Judæis potissimum putabantur, (namque tum Hierosolymæ non nisi ex circumcisione habebat ecclesia sacerdotem,) militum cohortem custodias in perpetuum agitare jussit (Adrianus), quæ Judæos omnes Hierosolymæ aditu

arceret. Quod quidem Christianæ fidei proficiebat : quia tum pene omnes Christum Deum sub legis observatione credebant. Nimirum id Domino ordinante dispositum, ut legis servitus a libertate fidei atque ecclesiæ tolleretur.

must certainly conclude, that they had departed from the faith of their fathers and those who had gone before them.

13. It is however clear, from good authority, that even the Nazarenes held more exalted views of Christ our Lord. Philastrius at any rate attributes to them no heresy respecting the person of Christ. While Augustine, in his work on Heresies, after treating in chap. 8^m of the Cerinthians as having taught "that men ought to be circumcised in the flesh, and observe other precepts of the law of this kind: that Jesus was simply man," &c.; goes on in chaps. 9 and 10 thus to expound the doctrines of the Nazarenes and the Ebionites; "Although the Nazarenes confess that Christ is the Son of God," (and consequently thus far differ from the Cerinthians, who regard Him as man only,) "yet they observe all the ceremonies of the ancient law," (in this agreeing with the Cerinthians,) "which Christians by the tradition of the Apostles have been taught not to observe carnally, but to understand spiritually. The Hebionites also for their part"¹ (i.e. just like the Cerinthians, of whom he had been speaking a little before) "say that He is only a man. They observe the carnal ordinances of the law, &c." Here it is plain (in spite of the cavils of the author of the *Irenicum*) that Augustine meant to distinguish the Nazarenes both from the Cerinthians and from the Ebionites in this point, that the Nazarenes acknowledged that Christ was *not man only*, as the Cerinthians and the Ebionites thought, but *the Son of God*, and consequently God. Besides, all are aware what Augustine meant by *confessing Christ to be the Son of God*. For he acknowledged no other Son of God but Him who before all worldsⁿ was begotten of the Father, God of God. But further, there is a very explicit testimony of Jerome in an Epistle addressed to Augustine, Epist. lxxxix.^o, in which he thus writes concerning Cerinthus, Ebion, and the

^m Carne circumcidi oportere, atque alia hujusmodi legis præcepta servari; Jesum hominem tantummodo fuisse. . . . Nazareni cum Dei Filium confiteantur esse Christum, omnia tamen veteris legis observant, quæ Christiani per apostolicam traditionem non observare carnaliter, sed spiritaliter intelligere didicerunt. Hebionæi Christum etiam ipsi tantummodo hominem

dicunt. Mandata carnalia legis observant, &c.—[Vol. viii. p. 7.]

ⁿ Our reverend author has vindicated this assertion from the cavils of an adversary in a treatise now first published, entitled, *Primitiva et Apostolica Traditio*, &c. i. 7.—GRABE. [See the translation of that Treatise in this volume.]

^o Si hoc verum est, in Cerinthis et

¹ ipsi.

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Nazarenes; "If this is true, we are falling into the heresy of Cerinthus and Ebion, who, though they believed in Christ, were anathematized by the fathers only for this, that they mixed the ceremonies of the law with the gospel of Christ, and confessed the new in such a way as not to let go the old. Why should I speak of the Ebionites, who falsely pretend that they are Christians? To this very day there exists through all the synagogues of the East a heresy among the Jews, called that of the Minæi^p, who are commonly called Nazarenes; these believe in Christ, as the Son of God, born of the Virgin Mary; and they say that it was He who suffered under Pontius Pilate, and rose from the dead, in whom we also believe. But whilst they would be both Jews and Christians, they are neither Jews nor Christians." In this passage Jerome expressly says with Augustine that the Nazarenes believed in Christ, the Son of God; and, not content with saying this, he explains his meaning by affirming that they believed in that Son of God, "in whom we also (the Catholics) believe;" so that in this doctrine of the Son of God he acknowledges no difference whatever between the Catholics and the Nazarenes^q. That this was Jerome's meaning will be still more clearly evident from his object in the passage cited. A controversy had arisen between Jerome and Augustine on the words of St. Paul respecting St. Peter, Gal. ii. 11; "I withstood him to the face;" whether, that is, Paul did seriously and in earnest reprehend Peter, or whether the whole of what was done between them was not done feignedly only, and, as it were, in a kind of religious simulation¹. Augustine rightly thought the former, while Jerome maintained the latter, in opposi-

CHAP. II.
§ 12, 13.

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¹ per sanctam quandam simulationem.

Ebionis hæresin delabimur, qui credentes in Christo propter hoc solum a Patribus anathematizati sunt, quod legis ceremonias Christi evangelio miscuerunt, et sic nova confessi sunt, ut vetera non omitterent. Quid dicam de Hebionitis, qui Christianos esse se simulant? Usque hodie per totas Orientis synagogas [et a Pharisæis nunc usque damnatur:] inter Judæos hæresis est, quæ dicitur Minæorum, quos vulgo Nazaræos nuncupant, qui credunt in Christum, Filium Dei, natum de Virgine Maria, et eum

dicunt esse, qui sub Pontio Pilato passus est et resurrexit, in quem et nos credimus. Sed dum volunt et Judæi esse, et Christiani, nec Judæi sunt, nec Christiani."—[Ep. cxii. 13. vol. i. p. 740.]

^p [From the Hebrew מינים, which means the same as *heretics*.—B.]

^q Our author replies to a cavil on this point also, alleged by the same adversary, in the passage above cited, § 8.—GRABE. [See translation of the *Primitiva Traditio*, i. 8.]

commentators agree in the view,) rendering the words *κατὰ πρόσωπον*, not *coram* (openly), but *secundum faciem* (in appearance), that is, feignedly, and not in earnest. The principal argument by which he defended his opinion (into which, as he candidly admits, he had fallen accidentally, when—after reading some Greek commentaries, and bringing together very many subjects into his mind—he was engaged in dictating either his own or another's thoughts to his amanuensis, whom he had hastily summoned, without remembering meanwhile the order, sometimes not even the words, or their meaning) was as follows ; that Paul himself occasionally Judaized, and therefore could not, with any justice, reprove Peter for that error in which he was himself involved. To this argument Augustine rightly replies, that Peter had been rebuked by Paul, not for observing a custom of the Jews under which he had been born and educated, although he refrained from observing it when among Gentiles ; but because he wished to impose it on the Gentiles by the example, that is, which he set,—which Paul had never done. For the ceremonies of the law, although they ought not to be imposed on the Gentiles, might yet be allowed to Jewish believers for a time. Jerome, however, was unwilling to understand this ; and in his oratorical way, inveighs against Augustine as if his opinion amounted to this^r ; “that even now, since the gospel of Christ, the believing Jews do well if they keep the precepts of the law ; that is to say, if they offer sacrifices, &c.” And against this opinion, which certainly never was Augustine's, he argues thus, as if fighting with his own shadow ; “If this is true, we are falling into the heresy of Cerinthus and Ebion, who, believing in Christ, were anathematized by the fathers only for this, that they mixed the ceremonies of the law with the gospel of Christ.” In these words Jerome did not by any means intend to say that Cerinthus and Ebion entertained no other heresy, on account of which they were anathematized by the fathers, (for he could not have been ignorant that Ebion had been condemned by the ancients of heresy for denying the divinity of Christ,

^r [Hæc igitur summa est quaestio-
nis] ut post evangelium Christi etiam
nunc bene faciant Judæi credentes, si

legis mandata custodiant, hoc est, sa-
crificia offerant, &c.”—Ibid.

whilst Cerinthus had been erased from the list of Christians both for that heresy and for other impious doctrines,) but that if they had been orthodox in all other respects, they would have been judged worthy of anathema by the fathers for that error alone. But because he saw that that position might be called in question by the opponent whom he had formed for himself, he quits of his own accord the instance of Cerinthus and Ebion, and takes up another argument from the Nazarenes, such as should cut off all handle for cavil; "Why should I speak," he says, "of the Ebionites, who pretend that they are Christians? To this very day there exists through all the synagogues of the East, &c." As if he said,—as respects the Ebionites, you will possibly object, and I do not deny, that they entertain impious notions concerning Christ our Lord, inasmuch as they teach that He is only man; consequently, they are no way to be accounted as really Christians, however much they may pretend to be Christians. But, at any rate, with regard to the Nazarenes, you will have no reply to make; for, although they are catholic in every respect except that they retain the observance of the law, yet they are held by the Church as heretics. That this was the meaning of Jerome is most manifest. And no one could have known the tenets of the Nazarenes better than Jerome, for he had lived amongst them, and they had allowed him an opportunity of copying the Gospel of Matthew in Hebrew, as he himself expressly states in his work on Ecclesiastical Writers, in the section on Matthew.

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14. To the testimonies which have been already produced I will add two besides, which, although there is no express mention of the Nazarenes in them, yet appear to me to refer altogether to them, and to declare their opinion clearly enough. The former testimony shall be that of a writer incontrovertibly much earlier than all those whom we have as yet cited; I mean Justin Martyr, in his Dialogue with Trypho the Jew, wherein Trypho proposes to Justin for solution certain questions about the observance of the law of Moses. The first inquiry relates to those who lived under the law before the coming of Christ, and is as follows; "Shall they who lived according to the requirement of the law of Moses live in the resurrection of the dead, as well as

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Enoch, Noah and Job, or not?*" To this question Justin answers thus; "In the law of Moses, things which are by nature excellent, and pious, and just, are appointed to be performed by those who are thereunto subject; some things, moreover, are likewise found written, which were commanded to be done because of the people's hardness of heart; these were also observed by those who were under the law. Since those who did such things as were universally, naturally, and eternally right, have been well-pleasing unto God, they also, equally with the righteous men who went before them,—Enoch, and Noah, and Job^t, and whoever else there were,—shall in the resurrection obtain salvation by this Christ, together with those who acknowledge this Christ to be the Son of God, who was in being before the morning star and the moon, and endured to be incarnate, and born through this Virgin, who was of the lineage of David; that by this dispensation the serpent, which wrought evil from the beginning, and the angels who had been made like unto him, might be utterly subdued, and death contemned, and at length, at the second coming of Christ Himself, be altogether put an end to, by those who believe in Him and live so as to please Him, and be no more, when some shall be consigned to the judgment and condemnation of fire, to be for ever tormented, and others shall be associated together in a state where shall be no suffering, or corruption, or pain, or death." The meaning of the answer is plainly this; that those who, while living under the law of Moses, faithfully obeyed the

* [κακεῖνος, εἰπὲ οὖν μοι, ἔφη· οἱ ζήσαντες κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν διαταχθέντα διὰ Μωσέως, ζήσονται ὁμοίως τῷ Ἰακώβ καὶ τῷ Ἐνῶχ καὶ τῷ Νῶε, ἐν τῇ τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναστάσει, ἢ οὐ; . . . ἐν τῷ Μωσέως νόμῳ τὰ φύσει καλὰ καὶ εὐσεβῆ καὶ δίκαια νενομώθηται πράττειν τοὺς πεποιημένους αὐτοῖς· καὶ πρὸς σκληροκαρδίαν δὲ τοῦ λαοῦ διαταχθέντα γίνεσθαι ὁμοίως ἀναγέγραπται, ἃ καὶ ἔπραττον οἱ ὑπὸ τὸν νόμον. ἔπει οἱ τὰ καθόλου καὶ φύσει καὶ αἰώνια καλὰ ἐποιοῦν, εὐαρεστοὶ εἰσι τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τούτου ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει ὁμοίως τοῖς προγενομένοις αὐτῶν δίκαιοις, Νῶε καὶ Ἐνῶχ καὶ Ἰακώβ, καὶ ἕτινες ἄλλοι γεγόνασι,] σωθήσονται σὺν τοῖς ἐπιγνοῦσι τὸν Χριστὸν τούτου τοῦ Θεοῦ υἱόν, ὃς καὶ πρὸ ἑωσφόρου καὶ σελήνης ἦν, καὶ διὰ τῆς παρ-

θένου ταύτης τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους τοῦ Δαβὶδ, γεννηθῆναι σαρκοποιηθεὶς ὑπ' ἐμῆς γενεῆς, [ἵνα διὰ τῆς οἰκονομίας ταύτης ὁ πονηρευσάμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν ὕψις, καὶ οἱ ἐξομοιωθέντες αὐτῷ ἄγγελοι καταλυθῶσι, καὶ ὁ θάνατος καταφρονηθῇ, καὶ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρουσίᾳ ἀπὸ τῶν πιστευόντων αὐτῷ καὶ εὐαρέστως ζώντων παύσῃται τέλος, ὕστερον μὲν ὧν, ὅταν οἱ μὲν εἰς κρίσιν καὶ καταδικὴν τοῦ πυρὸς ἀπαύστως κολάζεσθαι πεμφθῶσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐν ἀπαθείᾳ καὶ ἀφθαρσίᾳ καὶ ἀλυσίᾳ καὶ ἀθανασίᾳ συνῶσιν.—Pp. 263 and 264. [§ 45. pp. 140–41.]

^t [Both here and in the passage above, instead of Job (Ἰάβ) (which Bull read, following the older editions), the Benedictine Editor reads Jacob (Ἰακώβ).—B.]

ceremonies which God had imposed on them, and, especially, the eternal laws of justice, as well as the pious men who lived before the law, should obtain by the grace of Christ eternal salvation, together with us Christians, although they had not that explicit faith respecting Christ which is now required of ourselves; and that that explicit faith, which under the gospel is required of us for salvation, is altogether that whereby we acknowledge Jesus Christ to be the Son of God, who existed before the world, and in the fulness of time was incarnate, and was made man of the Virgin, that by that dispensation He might overcome the devil and death, and who shall at length come again in the end of the world, to judge the earth, and to consign the wicked to the punishment of eternal fire, and to exalt the righteous to a kingdom of glory and everlasting happiness. Here let the reader observe, in passing, the rule of faith concerning Christ which Justin delivered as necessary to salvation, and let him keep it in mind till a suitable time, when it may be of use. But Trypho next asks, whether he who embraced at the present time this faith of Christ, and yet along with that faith retained also the observance of the ceremonial law of Moses, could be saved? "But if," says he^u, "there be even now any who desire to live in observance of the appointments of Moses, and also believe in this the crucified Jesus, acknowledging that He is the Christ of God," (such as you, Justin, just now described,) "and that it has been given to Him to judge all men absolutely, and that His kingdom is everlasting," (as you have also asserted,) "can they also be saved?" Before he answers this question, Justin in his turn puts a few inquiries to Trypho, respecting those Mosaic ceremonies which could or could not be observed now since the destruction of the temple of Jerusalem. After the solution of these, Trypho repeats his question, and asks again^x, whether one, who holds the faith in Christ, described above, and yet desires to observe such of the legal ceremonies

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^u [ἐὰν δέ τινες καὶ νῦν ζῇν βούλωνται φυλάσσοντες τὰ διὰ Μωσέως διαταχθέντα, καὶ πιστεύσωσιν ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν σταυρωθέντα Ἰησοῦν, ἐπιγινώσκοντες ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ Χριστὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ αὐτῷ δέδοται τὸ κρίναι πάντας ἀπλῶς, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ

αἰώνιος βασιλεία, δύναται καὶ αὐτοὶ σωθῆναι; ἐπυνθάνετό μου. — Ibid. p. 141.]

^x [καὶ ὁ Τρύφων πάλιν, ἐὰν δέ τις εἰδὼς ὅτι ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει, μετὰ τοῦ καὶ τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν ἐπίστωσθαι δηλονότι, καὶ πεπιστευκέναι καὶ πελ-

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OF THE
CATHOLIC
CHURCH.¹ ἐκ παντός.

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of Moses as may still be observed, can be saved? And at last Justin answers in these words^y; “As it seems to me, Trypho, I say that such a man will be saved, if he do not earnestly¹ strive to persuade the rest of men,—those, I mean, who from among the Gentiles have been circumcised from their error through Christ,—to keep the same ceremonies as himself, saying that they shall not be saved, unless they keep them.” From the words used by Justin, “as it seems to me,” Trypho raised a new question^z; “Are there then any,” he asks, “who say, that men of this kind will not be saved?” No doubt it seemed to him a strange thing, that salvation should be denied by any Christian to such as embraced exactly the same creed with himself in all other respects, on the simple ground that they make it a point of conscience to observe a law which God had Himself enacted. But Justin answers^a; “There are, Trypho; and who also do not venture to have part in society or in home with such: with whom I do not agree.” For those persons, no doubt, thought that after the gospel of Christ had been so long and so clearly promulgated, the Mosaic ceremonies were not only dead, but deadly. An opinion which Justin does not altogether deny, inasmuch as he concedes salvation not to Judaizing Christians indiscriminately, but only to such as, “through the infirmity of their judgment,” διὰ τὸ ἀσθενὲς τῆς γνώμης, (as he afterwards says,) adhered to the rites of Moses. From all this, however, it becomes at length very clear, that there were some Jews in the time of Justin, who combined with an observance of the ritual law of Moses the Catholic faith respecting Christ, (that, namely, by which we believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, who existed before all created things, and at a predetermined time was incarnate, and was made man of the Virgin for the

θεοῦ αὐτῷ, βούλεται καὶ ταῦτα φυλάσσειν, σωθήσεται; ἐπυνθάνετο. — Ibid. p. 142.]

^y ὥς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ὦ Τρύφων, λέγω ὅτι σωθήσεται ὁ τοιοῦτος, ἐὰν μὴ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους, λέγω δὴ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς πλάνης περιτμηθέντας, ἐκ παντὸς πείθειν ἀγωνίζηται ταῦτά αὐτῷ φυλάσσειν, λέγων οὐ σωθήσεσθαι αὐτοὺς, ἐὰν μὴ ταῦτα φυλάξωσιν. — [Ibid.]

^z [κἀκεῖνος, διὰ τί οὖν εἶπας, ὥς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ἐσωθήσεται ὁ τοιοῦτος, εἰ μή τι εἰσὶν οἱ λέγοντες ὅτι οὐ σωθήσονται οἱ τοιοῦτοι; — Ibid. p. 143.]

^a εἰσὶν, ὦ Τρύφων, καὶ μηδὲ κοινωεῖν ὁμίλιας ἢ ἐστίας τοῖς τοιοῖτοις τολμῶντες· οἷς ἐγὼ οὐ συναινός εἰμι. [ἀλλ' ἐὰν αὐτοὶ διὰ τὸ ἀσθενὲς τῆς γνώμης καὶ τὰ ὅσα δύνανται νῦν ἐκ τῶν Μωσέως. . . μετὰ τοῦ ἐπὶ τούτων τὸν Χριστὸν ἐλπίζειν . . . φυλάσσειν βούλωνται, κ. τ. λ.]

salvation of mankind, &c.) but yet did not impose the necessity of observing that law on other Christians, on those, that is, who were of the Gentiles. Now who, I ask, were these? Surely none other than the Nazarenes, or Christians of Jerusalem, who, in the time of Justin, had not very long been banished from their country by Adrian. And this was written of the Nazarenes by Justin, who, after some further observations in the same dialogue, incidentally touches on the doctrine of the Ebionites also, as will be shewn afterwards^b, when we come to the arguments of Episcopius.

CHAP. II.
§ 14, 15.

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15. My second testimony shall be taken from the sixth book of the Apostolical Constitutions; in the 10th chapter of which, the author enumerates the tenets of those heretics who disturbed the very Church of the Apostles; now the Cerinthians and Ebionites are particularly touched on at the end of the chapter, where he notes those who taught, "that it is needful to be circumcised according to the law; and to believe in Jesus, as a holy man and a prophet^c." Then, in chapter 11, he sets forth the preaching of the Apostles in opposition to all the heretics, whose wild doctrines he had previously mentioned. And in that place at the end of the chapter, he sets forth the Catholic faith in opposition specially to Cerinthus and Ebion, in these words^d; "We acknowledge the Christ not as a mere man, but as God the Word and Man, the Mediator between God and men, the High-priest of the Father; nor yet, with the Jews, do we circumcise ourselves." Then, in the chapter which immediately follows, he goes on to speak against others, who were of opinion that they ought to observe the Mosaic ritual. The title of the chapter is^e, "Against such as confess, but yet wish to Judaize;" *i. e.* against those, who while in other respects they embraced the Catholic faith as it had been set forth in the chapter just preceding, and specially confessed that part of it, which was rehearsed at the conclusion of the chapter, namely, that Christ is God and Man; yet thus far held with

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^b This argument derived from Justin, the very learned author defends in the forementioned treatise, chap. i. § 9.—GRABE.

^c δὲν . . . περιτέμνεσθαι νομίμως· πιστεύειν δὲ εἰς Ἰησοῦν ὡς εἰς ὄσιον ἄνδρα καὶ προφήτην.—[p. 342.]

^d τὸν Χριστὸν οὐ ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον ὁμολογοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ Θεὸν λόγον καὶ ἄνθρωπον, μεσίτην Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων, ἀρχιερέα τοῦ Πατρὸς· οὐτε μὴν μετ' Ἰουδαίων περιτενόμεθα.—[p. 343.]

^e πρὸς τοὺς ὁμολογοῦντας, Ἰουδαΐζειν δὲ θέλοντας.—[Ibid.]

the Jews, and differed from the rest of the Christians, that they adhered, even yet, to the ceremonial law of Moses. Who, however, can doubt, that these "who confess, and yet wish to Judaize," were the very Nazarenes themselves? For we have already heard Jerome attesting, almost in the same words, of the Nazarenes, that they acknowledged that Son of God in whom we also believe: but, while they wished to be both Jews and Christians, they were neither Jews nor Christians. We should, indeed, in vain seek for any others than the Nazarenes, with whom that description of the Pseudo-Clement would agree^f.

16. The authority of Theodoret alone, a writer of a later age, is insufficient to counterbalance these testimonies of the ancients, so numerous and so weighty; he affirms^g, that the Nazarenes "honoured Christ merely as a righteous man." For as to Epiphanius, although, Heresy xxix. chap. 1^h, he joins the Nazarenes with the Cerinthians as holding the same opinions (*ὁμοδόξους*), yet, in chapter 7ⁱ of the same Heresy, he candidly confesses, that he had not at all ascertained what the Nazarenes thought concerning Christ; whether, that is, they followed the heresy of Cerinthus, or the Catholic view. For in the same passage he thus writes of them; "But concerning Christ I am unable to say, whether they also hold Him to be a mere man, carried away by the impious principles of those who have been already mentioned, Cerinthus and Merinthus; or maintain, according to the truth, that He was born of the Virgin Mary through the Holy Ghost." So that it is clear, that the doctrines of the Nazarenes were but little understood by Epiphanius. And what he had inconsiderately said before, that the opinions of the Cerinthians and the Nazarenes were

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^f Read a defence of this statement also, in the treatise [already referred to], § 10.—GRABE.

^g [Theodoret says only: *Οἱ δὲ Ναζωραῖοι Ἰουδαῖοι εἰσι, τὸν Χριστὸν τιμῶντες ὡς ἄνθρωπον δίκαιον.*]—Hæretic. Fab. ii. 2. [vol. iv. p. 219.]

^h [Vol. i. p. 116. Epiphanius, however, does not say that the Nazarenes and the Cerinthians are "of the same opinions," *ὁμοδόξους*. His words are: *σύγχρονοι ἦσαν ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ὅμοια κέκτηνται τὰ φρονήματα. οὗτοι γὰρ ἑαυτοῖς ὄνομα ἐπέθεντο οὐχὶ Χριστοῦ,*

οὔτε αὐτὸ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ἀλλὰ Ναζωραίων. "They were contemporary and held similar sentiments, for these did not call themselves from the name of Christ, nor yet from the name of Jesus, but Nazarenes."—B.]

ⁱ *περὶ Χριστοῦ δὲ οὐκ οἶδα εἰπεῖν, εἰ καὶ αὐτοὶ τῇ τῶν προειρημένων περὶ Κήρινθον καὶ Μήρινθον μοχθηρίᾳ ἀχθέντες ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον νομίζουσιν· ἢ, καθὼς ἡ ἀλήθεια ἔχει, διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου γεγεννησθαι ἐκ Μαρίας διαβεβαιοῦνται.* —[p. 123.]

similar, (ὅμοια τὰ φρονήματα,) Theodoret, who wrote after him, evidently caught hold of, and from that stated, that the Nazarenes, equally with the Cerinthians, honoured Christ merely as a righteous man. Epiphanius, it is true, Heresy xxx. 2, states, that the Nazarenes and the Ebionites had laid their heads together, and communicated to each other their wicked opinions. And it seems not improbable, that the Nazarenes of after-times, when they had been long rejected, and despised by almost all other Catholic Christians, had formed a kind of familiarity with the Ebionites, owing to their observing the Mosaic ritual in common; and that some of them were thereby at last contaminated with their heresy. And, probably, of the number of these degenerate Ebionites, were they who were called the lesser Ebionites, of whom no one, so far as I am aware, has made mention before Origen. Be this as it may, the clear testimonies of the ancients, which we just now adduced, place it beyond a doubt that, long after the siege of the Jews in the reign of Adrian, nay, up to the time of Jerome and Augustine at least, there were Nazarenes who maintained unimpaired the faith of the primitive Nazarenes, or of the primitive Christian Church of the circumcision at Jerusalem; in other words, believed that Christ was God at the same time that they observed the law. [67]

17. Now from all this it is at length abundantly clear, how utterly vain is the labour, which the author of the *Irenicum* has bestowed in whitewashing the execrable heresy of the Ebionites, and in putting it forward as the doctrine which the Apostles themselves had delivered to the primitive Christians of Jerusalem, or Nazarenes. It is unnecessary, therefore, to contend much with that sophist, about the name of Ebion and the origin of it. Inasmuch, however, as I observe that there are some learned and orthodox men, who so far agree with him, as to deny that there ever lived an heresiarch who bore the name of Ebion; and that the appellation, Ebionites, was originally applied only by way of reproach to those Jewish Christians, who held low and abject views concerning Christ; we shall add a short statement on this question likewise. That there was once a person¹ of the name of Ebion, who so far followed the heresy of Cerinthus, as to teach that the

CHAP. II.
§ 15—17.

¹ homuncionem.

Lord Jesus was only a man, is expressly asserted by Tertullian, who is almost the most ancient writer on heresies that we now have, in a passage which we have already quoted in this chapter. With Tertullian agree Philastrius, Jerome, in the 8th chapter of his work Against the Luciferians, Epiphanius, Heresy xxx., and Ruffinus On the Creed, near the end, with other authors. Nor is that an objection to this view, which most writers have observed, that the word Ebion in Hebrew, means poor or needy. For no other inference can be drawn from that circumstance, than that the name of Ebion and his opinion and notion respecting Christ agreed very well together ; just as we read in Holy Scripture about Nabal, 1 Sam. xxv. 25, "As his name is, so is he ; Nabal [*i. e.* fool] is his name, and folly is with him."

- [68] Indeed, similar allusions to the names of heresiarchs frequently occur in ecclesiastical writers. Thus, Eusebius, of the Manichees, Eccl. Hist. vii. 31, says^k ; "At this time, also, he who was *maniac* in mind, and named [*Manes*] from his insane heresy, armed himself with the perversion of reasoning^l ; the devil himself, even Satan the adversary of God, having put the man forward for the ruin of many." In like manner, Gregory Nazianzen says of Arius, Oration xx.^l ; "Arius, who received his name from his madness, thoroughly shook and destroyed a great part of the Church." On this passage of Nazianzen Nicetas observes ; "Arius was so called ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρεως, that is, from Ares [*Mars*], a most warlike and furious demon." Accordingly, the followers of Arius were constantly designated Ἀριομανίται, *Ariomanites*, by Athanasius and others. And I could produce many instances of this kind, if it seemed worth while. But our opinion is exactly expressed and confirmed by Epiphanius, Heresy xxx. 17^m, who writes thus about the name of Ebion ; "For Ebion, when translated from the Hebrew into the Greek tongue, means poor (πτωχός), for he was poor indeed, both in his understanding, and in his hope, and in his work,

^k ἐν τούτῳ καὶ ὁ μανὲς τὰς φρένας, ἐπώνυμός τε τῆς δαιμονιώσης αἰρέσεως, τὴν τοῦ λογισμοῦ παρατροπὴν καθωπλίζετο· τοῦ δαίμονος αὐτοῦ δήπου τοῦ θεομάχου Σατανᾶ ἐπὶ λύμῃ πολλῶν τὸν ἄνδρα προβεβλημένου.

^l Ἀρεῖος, . . . ὁ τῆς μανίας ἐπώνυμος,

τὸ πολὺ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διέσεισε καὶ διέφθειρεν.—[Orat. xliii. 30. p. 794.]

^m Ἐβίων γὰρ ἔχει ἀπὸ ἑβραϊκῆς εἰς ἑλλάδα φωνὴν τὴν ἐρμηνεῖαν πτωχός· πτωχὸς γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ, καὶ τῇ ἐλπίδι, καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ, Χριστὸν ἄνθρωπον ψιλὸν νομίσας, καὶ οὕτως ἐν

holding Christ to be a mere man, and thus in poverty of faith had his hope in Him." After a few words more, he adds; "But being so really by nature, he was called Ebion: the poor and miserable man having, I conceive, received that name prophetically from his father and his mother." CHAP. II.
§ 17, 18.
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18. Accordingly, at first they only were called Ebionites, who were followers of the heresiarch Ebion, and embraced both his doctrines—as well that on the necessity of observing the Mosaic rites, as on the simple humanity of Christ. But afterwards, *i. e.* about the middle of the third century, as we are informed on the single authority of Origen, those persons were by some called Ebionites, who from among the Jews professed Christianity together with the observance of the law. In his second book against Celsus, near the beginning, he writes thus"; "Those whosoever from among the Jews believe in Jesus, have not deserted the law of their fathers: for they live according to it, and have been named from the poverty of the law, according to their [literal] acceptance of it°;—for a poor man is, by the Jews, called Ebion; and those from among the Jews, who have embraced Jesus as Christ, are called Ebionites." This, I repeat, no one, so far as I am aware, has asserted either before or after Origen. It may, however, not incorrectly be observed from this very passage of Origen, that those who were then called Ebionites in that wider sense, were yet not so called from entertaining, with the earliest and proper Ebionites, low and abject views concerning Christ; (for we have fully proved, that not all the Jews who believed in Jesus, and still observed the law, held such views concerning Him;) but "on account of the poverty of the law" (*διὰ τὴν πτωχείαν τοῦ νόμου*), to which they all adhered; in other words, because they still valued highly and scrupulously observed, what St. Paul calls, "the weak and beggarly elements" [of the [70]

πτωχείᾳ πίστεως τὴν ἐλπίδα περὶ αὐτοῦ κεκτημένοις. . . . Ἀλλὰ φύσει τῷ ὄντι Ἐβίων ἐκαλεῖτο, κατὰ προφητείαν, οἶμαι, ὁ πτωχὸς καὶ τάλας τὸ ὄνομα ἐκ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ μητρὸς αὐτοῦ κεκληρωμένος.—[p. 141.]

° οἱ ἀπὸ Ἰουδαίων εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν πιστεύοντες οὐ καταλειποῦσι τὸν πατριὸν νόμον. βιοῦσι γὰρ κατ' αὐτόν, ἐπώνυμοι τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἐκδοχὴν πτω-

χείας τοῦ νόμου γεγεννημένοι. Ἐβίων τε γὰρ ὁ πτωχὸς παρὰ Ἰουδαίους καλεῖται καὶ Ἐβιωναῖοι χρηματίζουσιν οἱ ἀπὸ Ἰουδαίων τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ὡς Χριστὸν, παραδεξάμενοι.—[p. 385.]

° [κατὰ τὴν ἐκδοχὴν. These words are omitted in the Latin version, used and cited, as well as the Greek, by Bp. Bull, and are not noticed in his observations.]

law], (*τὰ ἀσθενῆ καὶ πτωχὰ στοιχεῖα* ¹). In another passage, however, in his Commentary on Matthew ^p, where Origen is speaking of the Ebionites, so called in the stricter sense, those, that is, who did not acknowledge “the doctrine of the divinity of Christ,” (*τὴν περὶ Χριστοῦ θεολογίαν*), he says, that they “were poor in their belief concerning Jesus,” (*πτωχεύοντας περὶ τὴν εἰς Ἰησοῦν πίστιν*.) Thus have we enlarged, somewhat fully indeed, as our subject required, on the heretics, who, in the first age of Christianity, denied our Lord’s divinity. Our account of those who maintained the same heresy in the two following centuries, we shall, if it please God, despatch with greater brevity and less trouble.

¹ Gal. iv. 9.

^p Pp. 427, 428. edit. Huet. [tom. xvi. 12. vol. iii. p. 734.]

ON THOSE WHO IN THE SECOND AND THIRD CENTURIES DENIED THE TRUE
DIVINITY OF JESUS CHRIST.

1. In the reign of the Emperor Severus, about the year of Christ 190, one Theodotus of Byzantium, surnamed from the employment which he pursued, ὁ σκυτεὺς, “the Tanner,” had the boldness openly to maintain and affirm the deadly doctrine of the Ebionites. By Caius the presbyter, or some other ancient writer, cited by Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. v. 28, this man is called^a “the chief and father of the God-denying apostasy, who first asserted that Christ was a mere man.” He however meant, as I suppose, that he was the first to assert that doctrine amongst such as were simply Christians¹, i.e. Christians of the Gentiles; since the earlier defenders of that blasphemy for the most part maintained Judaism under the profession of Christianity, and therefore were to be accounted members of the synagogue rather than of the Church, and to be regarded more as Jews than Christians, or, at all events, as something between the two. Accordingly, by others also of the ancients, as we shall hereafter shew, the Ebiōnites were thrown into the catalogue of Jewish heresies, and distinguished from the heretics who arose in the Christian Church. But of this Theodotus and his heresy, Tertullian, in his work *De Præscript. adv. Hæres.* c. 53, speaks thus^b; “Besides these, there was Theodotus of Byzantium, who after he had been seized for the name of Christ, and had denied Him, ceased not to blaspheme against Christ. For he introduced a doctrine in which he asserted that Christ was merely man, and denied Him to be God; that He was born indeed

¹ mere
Christia-
nos.

[71]

^a τὸν ἀρχηγὸν καὶ πατέρα τῆς ἀρνησι-
θεοῦ ἀποστασίας, πρῶτον εἰπόντα ψιλὸν
ἄνθρωπον τὸν Χριστόν.

^b Accedit his Theodotus Byzantius,
qui posteaquam Christi pro nomine

comprehensus negavit, in Christum
blasphemare non destitit. Doctrinam
enim introduxit, qua Christum homi-
nem tantummodo diceret, Deum au-
tem illum negaret; ex Spiritu quidem

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of a Virgin by the Holy Ghost, but yet a mere and bare man, possessing no prerogative beyond other men, but simply that of righteousness." The same is said of him by Epiphanius, Heresy liv., by Augustine, On Heresies, c. 33, and by nearly every other writer on heresies. A sentence of anathema, however, was issued against this impious teacher by Victor, Bishop of Rome, according to the testimony of the before-mentioned Caius, as given by Eusebius in the passage which we just now referred to.

2. In that place the same Caius also narrates a remarkable story, which, as it is very apposite to my subject, I will not hesitate to relate here^c; "I will recall," he says, "to the memory of many of our brethren an event which has happened in our own time; which, if it had occurred in Sodom, might haply, I think, have led even them to repentance¹. There was a certain man, Natalis by name, a confessor, who lived, not in old time, but in our own days. He was at one time led astray by Asclepiodotus, and a certain other person, Theodotus, a banker. Both these were disciples of Theodotus the tanner, who was the first that was removed from the communion of the Church for this sentiment², or rather senselessness³, by Victor, as I said, the then Bishop. Natalis was prevailed on by them to be elected bishop of this heresy, in consideration of a salary, so that he was to receive of them a hundred and fifty denarii a month. Having then joined himself with them, he was often in dreams admonished by the Lord. For our merciful God and Lord Jesus Christ was not willing that he who had been a witness⁴ to His own sufferings should be put out of the pale of the Church and

¹ ἐνουθέ-
τησε.

[72]

² φρονήσει.

³ ἀφροσύνη.

⁴ μάρτυρα.

Sancto natum ex Virgine, sed hominem solitarium atque nudum, nulla alia præ cæteris, nisi sola justitiæ auctoritate.—pag. 223. [But see note g, page 25.—B.]

^c [The Greek of this extract is not given by Bp. Bull; it has, however, been followed in the translation, and is cited here:—ὁπομνήσω γοῖν πολλοὺς τῶν ἀδελφῶν πρᾶγμα ἐφ' ἡμῶν γενόμενον· ὃ νομίζω ὅτι εἰ ἐν Σοδόμοις ἐγεγόνει, τυχὸν ἂν κακέινους ἐνουθέτησε, Νατάλιος ἦν τις ὁμολογητὴς οὐ πάλαι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων γενόμενος καιρῶν· οὗτος ἡπατήθη ποτὲ ὑπὸ Ἀσκληπιδοῦ καὶ ἑτέρου Θεοδοῦ τοῦ τραπεζίτου· ἦσαν

δὲ οὗτοι ἑμφύ Θεοδοῦ τοῦ σκυτέως μαθηταί, τοῦ πρώτου ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ φρονήσει, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀφροσύνῃ, ἀφορισθέντος τῆς κοινωρίας ὑπὸ Βίκτορος ὡς ἔφην τοῦ τότε ἐπισκόπου· ἀνεπέσθη δὲ ὁ Νατάλιος ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ σαλαρίῳ ἐπισκοπικῷ κληρωθῆναι ταύτης τῆς αἵρέσεως, ὥστε λαμβάνειν παρ' αὐτῶν μηνιαία δηνάρια ἑκατὸν πενήκοντα. γενόμενος οὖν σὺν αὐτοῖς, δι' ὀραμάτων πολλὰκις ἐνουθετεῖτο ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου. ὃ γὰρ εὐσπλαγχνὸς Θεὸς καὶ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, οὐκ ἐβούλετο ἔξω ἐκκλησίας γενόμενον, ἀπολέσθαι μάρτυρα τῶν ἰδίων παθῶν, ἐπεὶ δὲ βαθυμότερον τοῖς ὁράμασι προσείχε, δελεαζόμενος τῇ τε παρ' αὐτοῖς πρωτοκαθερίᾳ, καὶ τῇ

perish. But when Natalis was slow to give heed to the dreams, being beguiled by the chief place [which he held] among them, by that which destroys so very many, filthy lucre, he was at last scourged by holy angels, being grievously buffeted¹ αἰκισθεῖς. through the whole night, so that in the morning he arose, and having put on sackcloth, and besprinkled himself with ashes, he with much earnestness and many tears fell down before Zephyrinus, the bishop, prostrating himself under the feet, not only of the clergy, but of the laity also; and by his lamentations distressed² the compassionate Church of the συγχέαι. merciful Christ: and after using much entreaty, and shewing the weals of the stripes which he had received, he was with difficulty received back to communion.” So great, it seems, was the difficulty for a man, though in other respects he had done good service to Christianity, to be reconciled to the Church, after he had at any time fallen into that dreadful heresy. With respect, however, to the repeated visions in which the Lord Jesus himself is here said to have appeared, as the avenger of His own divine majesty, and to have chastised the madness of the fallen confessor, no man will easily reject them as fictions, who observes that it is the confessor himself who relates them, when solemnly doing penance in the church for his shameful fall, before many witnesses, to the greater part of whom, being still alive, the very trustworthy writer of this narrative made his appeal; and who moreover recollects that in writers of even the third century, of the most approved credit, there are found not a few other examples of the same kind of visions. On this point the reader may consult the Dissertations on Cyprian, by the very learned Dodwell, Diss. iv. on Epist. viii.

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3. Not long after the beginning of the third century, there arose a reviver of the heresy of Theodotus, one Artemon or Artemas; against whom and his followers Caius, or the ancient writer whom we have just quoted, wrote a learned

πλείστοις ἀπολλυνούσῃ αἰσχροκερδεῖα, τελευταῖαν ὑπὸ ἁγίων ἀγγέλων ἐμαστιγώθη, δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς οὐ σμικρῶς αἰκισθεῖς ὥστε ἔωθεν ἀναστῆναι, καὶ ἐνδυσάμενον σάκκον, καὶ σποδὸν καταπασάμενον, μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς καὶ δακρύων προσπεσεῖν Ζεφυρίνῳ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, κυλιόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦς πόδας οὐ μόνον

τῶν ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν λαϊκῶν συγχέαι τε τοῖς δάκρυσι τὴν εὐσπλαγχνον ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ ἐλειμμένου Χριστοῦ· πολλῇ τε τῇ δεήσει χρησάμενον, δειξαντά τε τοὺς μώλωπας ὧν εἰλῆφει πληγῶν, μόλις κοινηνηθῆναι.—Ap. Euseb. E. H. v. 28.]

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treatise, as Eusebius states in the forementioned passage, Eccl. Hist. v., in the last chapter. In this treatise, as Eusebius states, the author writes thus, word for word, of the Artemonites^d; "They affirm that all who lived before us¹, and the Apostles themselves, both received and taught what they now assert; and that the truth of this preaching was preserved until the times of Victor, who was the thirteenth bishop at Rome after Peter; but that from the time of his successor, Zephyrinus, the truth had been corrupted². And perhaps this statement of theirs might have been plausible³, were it not that in the first place the Holy Scriptures are opposed to them; and there are also writings of certain brethren, prior to the times of Victor, which they composed in defence of the truth both against the heathen and against the heretics of that day: I mean, Justin, and Miltiades, and Tatian, and Clement, and several others, in all of which the divinity of Christ is taught⁴. For who is ignorant of the writings of Irenæus, and Melito, and others, which declare that Christ is God and man? Such psalms also and hymns of the brethren^e, as were written from the beginning by the faithful, celebrate Christ the Word of God, ascribing to Him divinity⁵. How, then, since the mind of the Church has been declared for so many years, is it possible that up to the time of Victor they should have publicly taught as these allege? How are they not ashamed

¹ τοὺς
προτέρους.

² παρακεχα-
ράχθαι.

³ πιθανόν.

⁴ θεολογεῖ-
ται ὁ
Χριστός.
[74]

⁵ θεολο-
γούντες.

^d φασι γὰρ τοὺς μὲν προτέρους ἅπαν-
τας καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἀποστόλους παρειλη-
φέναι τε καὶ δεδιδάχεναι ταῦτα, ἃ νῦν
οὗτοι λέγουσι· καὶ τετηρήσθαι τὴν ἀλή-
θειαν τοῦ κηρύγματος μέχρι τῶν Βίκτορος
χρόνων, ὅς ἦν τρισκαίδέκατος ἀπὸ Πέτρου
ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπίσκοπος· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ διαδόχου
αὐτοῦ Ζεφυρίνου, παρακεχαράχθαι τὴν
ἀλήθειαν. ἦν δ' ἂν τυχόν πιθανόν τὸ
λεγόμενον, εἰ μὴ πρῶτον μὲν ἀντέπιπτον
αὐτοῖς αἱ θεαῖαι γραφαί· καὶ ἀδελφῶν δέ
τινων ἐστὶ γράμματα πρεσβύτερα τῶν
Βίκτορος χρόνων, ἃ ἐκείνοι πρὸς τὰ ἔθνη
ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ πρὸς τὰς τότε
αἱρέσεις ἔγραψαν· λέγων δὲ Ἰουστίνου καὶ
Μιλτιάδου καὶ Τατιανοῦ καὶ Κλήμεντος
καὶ ἑτέρων πλείονων, ἐν οἷς ἅπασι θεολο-
γεῖται ὁ Χριστός. τὰ γὰρ Εἰρηναίου τε
καὶ Μελλίτωνος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τίς ἀγνοεῖ
βιβλία, Θεὸν καὶ ἄνθρωπον καταγγέλ-
λοντα τὸν Χριστόν; ψαλμοὶ δὲ ὅσοι καὶ
ὥδαὶ ἀδελφῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ πιστῶν

γραφεῖσθαι, τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν
Χριστὸν ἡμῶσι θεολογούντες; πῶς οὖν
ἐκ τούτων ἐπὶ καταγγελλομένου τοῦ
ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ φρονήματος, ἐνδέχεται
τοὺς μέχρι Βίκτορος οὕτως ὡς οὗτοι λέ-
γουσι κεκηρυχέναι; πῶς δὲ οὐκ αἰδοῦνται
ταῦτα Βίκτορος καταψεύδεσθαι; ἀκριβῶς
εἰδότες, ὅτι Βίκτωρ τὸν σκυτέα Θεόδοτον
τὸν ἄρχηγον καὶ πατέρα ταύτης τῆς ἁρ-
νησιθεοῦ ἀποστασίας, ἀπεκήρυξε τῆς κοι-
νωνίας, πρῶτον εἰπὼντα ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον
τὸν Χριστόν. εἰ γὰρ Βίκτωρ κατ' αὐτοὺς
οὕτως ἐφρόνει ὡς ἡ τούτων διδασκεί
βλασφημία, πῶς ἂν ἀπέβαλλε Θεόδοτον
τὸν τῆς αἵρέσεως ταύτης εἰρητὴν;—
Euseb. E. H. v. 28.]

^e See Pliny's Epistle, x. 97, to the
Emperor Trajan, and my own re-
marks on this passage of Caius in
my Defence of the Nicene Creed, iii.
2. 5. [p. 408.]

to make these false assertions about¹ Victor, well knowing, as they do, that it was Victor who excommunicated Theodotus the tanner, the chief author and father of this God-denying heresy, who first asserted that Christ was a mere man? For if Victor entertained, as they say, sentiments such as their blasphemy teaches, how could he have cast out [from the pale of the Church] Theodotus, the discoverer of this heresy?" This remarkable fragment of the learned author I have the more willingly transcribed entire from Eusebius, that all persons may see the extreme shamelessness of the author of the *Irenicum*, when he appeals to the Artemonites, as the most trustworthy witnesses of the Apostolic tradition. For from this statement it is clear that they were themselves convicted of a most manifest falsehood, which had not the slightest semblance of truth. And what is more, I venture to say that this one paragraph of the venerable author, duly weighed, is sufficient to refute all the impious figments which are accumulated in the *Irenicum*. But what is most of all to our purpose is the fact, that these Artemonites were expelled from the congregation of the faithful, and had nothing in common with the Catholic Church of Christ; as is evident from the words of the fathers of Antioch about Paul of Samosata, just then excommunicated; they say in their Synodical Epistle¹; "Let him despatch a letter to Artemas, and let such as think with Artemas communicate with him."

CHAP. III.
§ 3, 4.

¹ καταψεύ-
δοσθαι.

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4. Not long afterwards, in the same century, Beryllus, Bishop of Bostra in Arabia, (as Eusebius relates, Eccl. Hist. vi. 33^e), "perverting the rule of the Church, endeavoured to introduce certain novelties, alien to the faith; being so bold as to affirm that our Saviour and Lord did not previously subsist in personality proper to Himself², before His sojourning among men,—nay, nor even had any divinity of His own, but only that of the Father residing within³ Him." From this statement of Eusebius one may conjecture that Beryllus had been approaching to the heresy of Noetus, which was

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² κατ' ἰδίαν
οὐσίας περι-
γραφήν.

³ ἐμπολι-
τευομένην.

¹ τῷ δὲ Ἀρτεμῷ οὗτος ἐπιστελλέτω, καὶ οἱ τὰ Ἀρτεμῶ φρονούντες τοῦτω κοινωνήτωσαν.—In Euseb. Eccl. Hist. vii. 30, near the end, [p. 363.]

² τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν παρεκτρέπων κανόνα, ζῆνα τινὰ τῆς πίστει παρεισφύ-

ρειν ἐπειράτω· τὸν σωτῆρα καὶ κύριον ἡμῶν λέγειν τολμῶν μὴ προῦφαστάναί κατ' ἰδίαν οὐσίας περιγραφὴν πρὸ τῆς εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἐπιδημίας, μηδὲ μὴν θεότητα ἰδίαν ἔχειν, ἀλλ' ἐμπολιτευομένην αὐτῷ μόνῃ τὴν πατρικὴν.

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afterwards that of Sabellius. Yet Jerome, whose words I shall presently quote, mentions nothing of this kind of him^h. But, at all events, many bishops met in synod against him, no doubt with the intention of removing him from communion as a man convicted of heresy. Being, however, convinced of his error by Origen, who was present at the synod, he was subdued, and yielded to the truth, and returned to his former sound opinion, as Eusebius attests in the same passage. Jerome's statement respecting him, in his work on Ecclesiastical Writers, c. 71ⁱ, is to this effect; "Beryllus, bishop of Bostra in Arabia, after ruling his Church for some time with great reputation, fell at last into the heresy which denies Christ's existence before His incarnation; was refuted by Origen; wrote several short works, and particularly epistles, wherein he expresses his gratitude to Origen, &c."

5. About the year of Christ 260, the notorious Paul, designated Samosatenus, from Samosata, the place of his birth, and Antiochenus, from his episcopal see, resuscitated the heresy of the Artemonites. For (according to Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. vii. 27^k) he entertained opinions "concerning Christ, which were low and grovelling, contrary to the doctrine of the Church, as if He were in His nature only an ordinary man." Athanasius, however, writes of him as follows in his treatise on the coming of the Saviour¹; "The Samosatene confesses God [born] of the Virgin; God seen out of Nazareth; who also had from that point the beginning of His existence, and received the beginning of His kingdom; and he confesses in Him the energising Word from heaven, and Wisdom; that He existed, indeed, by foreappointment¹ before the worlds; but in actual existence was manifested out of

¹ τῷ προο-
ρισμῷ.

^h [The heresy described by Eusebius was the denial of the real personal existence of the Son before His incarnation, as Jerome describes it.]

ⁱ Beryllus Arabiæ Bostrenus episcopus, cum aliquanto tempore gloriose rexisset ecclesiam, ad extremum lapsus in hæresin, quæ Christum ante incarnationem negat, ab Origene correctus, scripsit varia opuscula, et maxime Epistolas, in quibus Origeni gratias agit, &c.—[c. 60. p. 885.]

^k [τούτου δὲ] ταπεινὰ καὶ χαμαιπετῇ

περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρὰ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν διδασκαλίαν, ὡς κοινῶς τὴν φύσιν ἀνθρώπου γενομένου.

¹ [Παῦλος] ὁ Σαμοσατεὺς Θεὸν ἐκ τῆς παρθένου ὁμολογεῖ, Θεὸν ἐκ Ναζαρετ ὀφθέντα, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν τῆς ὑπάρξεως τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐσχηκότα, καὶ ἀρχὴν βασιλείας παρεληφότα· λόγον δὲ ἐνεργόν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ σοφίαν ἐν αὐτῷ ὁμολογεῖ, τῷ μὲν προορισμῷ πρὸ αἰώνων ὄντα, τῇ δὲ ὑπάρξει ἐκ Ναζαρετ ἀναδειχθέντα.—Page 635. ed. Paris. 1627. [contra Apollin. ii. 3. vol. i. p. 942.]

Nazareth." Here, by the Word which was in Christ, Paul by no means understood the person of the Word, or Son of God; for no such Word as this did he acknowledge, but only a kind of divine power and energy, by which He was conceived in the Virgin's womb, and which afterwards constantly operated in Him. It was only in this way that he thought that Christ was conceived by the Holy Ghost, (since he did not acknowledge any Holy Ghost as a divine Person,) and on this account he believed that He was called God in the Scriptures. Touching the same Paul and his followers, Augustine, On Heresies, c. 44^m, says; "The Paulians, after Paul of Samosata, say that Christ did not always exist; on the contrary, they affirm that His beginning was from the time of His birth of Mary: and they do not believe Him to be anything more than man. This heresy was broached aforetime by one Artemon; but, after having come to an end, it was renewed by Paul." Let us, however, hear the testimony of the fathers of the Council of Antioch themselves, who certainly best understood Paul's doctrine. In their Synodical Epistle, given by Eusebius in the 30th chapter of the afore-cited book, they testify that Paul had denied "his God and Lord" (τὸν Θεὸν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ Κύριον); that is, he had disowned the divinity of our Lord and Saviour Christ. Again, shortly afterwards in the same Epistle they declare that he refused "to confess with [Catholics] that the Son of God had come down from heaven" (τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ συνομολογεῖν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κατελθλυθέναι); but said that Christ was "from beneath" (κάτωθεν). Lastly, in the same document, they expressly speak of him as one "who had betrayed the mystery [of the faith], and been initiated into the execrable heresy of Artemas" (τὸν ἐξορχησάμενον τὸ μυστήριον, καὶ ἐμπομπέοντα τῇ μιαιφῶ αἰρέσει τῇ Ἀρτεμᾷ). Paul therefore entertained of Christ the same opinions as Artemas.

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6. But some ancient writers inform us, that the Samosatene defended this Jewish blasphemy, in order to gratify Zenobia, who at that time was empress in the East, and who

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^m Pauliani, a Paulo Samosateno, Christum non semper fuisse dicunt, sed ejus initium, ex quo de Maria natus est, asseverant: nec eum aliquid

amplius quam hominem putant. Ista hæresis aliquando cujusdam Artemonis fuit; sed eum defecisset, instaurata est a Paulo.—[vol. viii. p. 13.]

was either a Jewess, as Athanasius affirmsⁿ, or at least much inclined to the religion of the Jews. This is the statement of Chrysostom, Homily viii. on John, and of Theodoret, *Hær. Fab.* ii. 8. Even as some modern reproducers, both of the Samosatene and of the Arian sects among ourselves, insist on the complete suppression in the Church of the doctrine of Christ, as the coessential Son of God, and consequently of the consubstantiality of the Holy Trinity, that it may not any longer, forsooth, prove an obstacle to the conversion of the Jews and the Turks; that is to say, they wish us to cease from being Christians in reality, in order that those infidels may become Christians anyhow.

29 7. Against this impious Paul, however, two synods of bishops were convened at Antioch. In the former indeed, which was held about the twelfth year of the reign of the emperor Gallienus, A.D. 265, the sophist escaped with impunity, having by his dissimulation deceived the bishops, as we gather from Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* vii. 28. In the latter synod, however, which was very numerously attended, and was held in the reign of Aurelian, about the year of our Lord 270, his heresy was laid open before all by Malchion, a presbyter and a man of very great learning, who was present at the synod, whereupon he was not only deposed from his episcopal throne, but also entirely prohibited from all communion with the Catholic Church. Of this synod Eusebius has transmitted to us the following brief account, in chap. 29 of the book before mentioned^o; "In this emperor's time, (Aurelian's,) a synod consisting of a very great number of bishops was assembled; and in it, Paul, the leader of this heresy at Antioch, having been detected and now clearly condemned by all of false doctrine, was excommunicated out of the whole Church under heaven, τῆς ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀποκηρύττεται. And when he was seeking to escape being brought to account, he was convicted mainly by Malchion, a man of great learning, &c."

ⁿ In *Epist. ad Solit.* p. 837. [§ 71. vol. i. p. 386.]

^o [καθ' οὖν (τελευταίως) συγκροτηθείσης πλείστων ὄσων ἐπισκόπων συνόδου, φωραβὲς καὶ πρὸς πάντων ἡδὴ σαφῶς καταγνωσθὲς ἑτεροδοξίαν ὁ τῆς κατὰ

Ἀντιοχείαν αἰρέσεως ἀρχηγός, τῆς ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀποκηρύττεται. μάλιστα δὲ αὐτὸν εὐθὺνας ἐπικρυπτόμενον διήλεγξε Μαλχίων, ἀνὴρ τὰ τε ἄλλα λόγιος, κ. τ. λ.—Euseb. E. H. vii. 29.]

Now it is worthy of observation, with what emphasis and severity the holy fathers, in their Synodical Epistle, inveigh both against the heresiarch himself and his heresy. They call him, “the man who denies his God” (τὸν Θεὸν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἀρνούμενον); “an apostate from the rule [of faith]” (ἀποστάντα τοῦ κανόνος); and also, “one who sets himself in array against God” (ἀντιτασσόμενον τῷ Θεῷ). While they designate his doctrine, “the deadly doctrine” (τὴν θανατηφόρον διδασκαλίαν); “a God-denying evil” (ἀρνησίθεον κακίαν); “a polluted heresy” (μιαρὰν αἵρεσιν). From which it is manifest, that this great and sacred synod, and so the Catholic Church of that period, were altogether of opinion, that the doctrine of the true divinity of Christ was necessary to be known and believed in order to salvation.

8. After Paul of Samosata, no one, so far as I remember, occurs in the ecclesiastical history of the third century, as opposing the doctrine of our Saviour’s divinity, except a man named Lucian, who also, on this account, suffered the sentence of excommunication. Of him the reader may see what I have written in my work, the Defence of the Nicene Creed, ii. 13. 8. [pp. 349—352.]

9. But if some of the modern Arian party here object, that all the heretics, whom we have hitherto enumerated, denied the preexistence of Christ before [His birth of] Mary; whereas the Arians not only acknowledge this doctrine, but even allow that He existed before the worlds, it will follow that all these objections, however much they may affect the Socinians, have no relation whatever to the Arians—his objection is futile. For it is most plain, that the above-mentioned heretics were condemned by the Church, on a ground which was held by them in common with the Arians, namely, the denial that our Saviour is God. Let the reader look back at what we have observed in this chapter from ancient sources respecting Theodotus, Artemon, and Paul of Samosata, and he will see, that the heresy of all of them was regarded by the holy fathers as consisting in this—not that they considered Christ to be a creature lower than He really was, but that they absolutely laid down that He

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was a mere created being, and did not acknowledge Him as very God. In a word, they were convicted and condemned "for the God-denying heresy" (τῆς ἀρνησιθέου αἰρέσεως), as we have heard Caius say concerning Theodotus and Artemon, and the fathers of Antioch respecting Paul of Samosata. But surely the heresy of Arius was not less "God-denying" than theirs; nor was there so great a difference between their opinion and that of Arius, as that the Church should judge the one to be tolerated, the other to be worthy of anathema. For by both Christ was determined to be a mere created being; the difference between the two parties being only as to the time when He began to exist.

¹ κυρίας
δόξας.

10. Nevertheless, I must here repeat an observation which I have made elsewhere, that even the special opinions¹ which Arius held, I mean, about the Word having been produced from some definite beginning indeed, although before the worlds, and the difference of His essence from the nature of the supreme God, had been previously condemned by the Church in the case of those very early heretics, the Gnostics. See, by all means, what we have advanced on this subject in our Defence of the Nicene Creed, ii. 1. 15. [p. 83.] and iii. 1. 15, 16. [p. 397, &c.] also, 10. 16. [p. 539.] Moreover, we must recall to mind the well-known history of Dionysius of Alexandria, who was falsely accused by the Sabellians before Dionysius of Rome, of the very same doctrines as those which Arius afterwards maintained; Dionysius of Rome, without delay, assembled a synod to consider the case; in it the doctrines were rejected by all as heretical; and Dionysius himself also, who was said to have maintained them, would without doubt have been condemned, if he had not in due time cleared himself by a letter from a most foul calumny. This history you may find fully laid open by us, in the Defence of the Nicene Creed, ii. 11. 2, &c. [pp. 304, &c.]

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Now from the lengthy discussions, which we have made in this and the chapter immediately preceding, it is as I suppose most evident to all, that the opinion, which denies that our Saviour is very God, was always held in the Catholic

Church of the first three centuries to be a most deadly heresy, nay, a detestable blasphemy; and that those who maintained it were utterly rejected as impious teachers, and altogether aliens from the true and saving faith of Christ; so that one may naturally wonder by what colouring or sophistry (for it is impossible for him to produce anything of solid argument against testimony so plain) Episcopius can maintain his assertion to the contrary. We will now proceed, however, to a more accurate examination of his allegations, such as they are.

CHAP. III.
§ 9, 10.

ON THE CREEDS OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH: AND FIRST, OF THE FIRST AND MOST ANCIENT CREED, AND THE EXPOSITIONS OF IT, WHICH ARE FOUND IN IRENÆUS AND TERTULLIAN.

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1. IN order to prove his premiss,—that in the primitive Churches, which continued from the very times of the Apostles during at least three whole centuries, the belief and profession of that special Sonship of Jesus Christ, *i.e.* that by which He is determined to be the Son of God before all worlds and God of God, was not judged necessary for salvation, —Episcopus advances two arguments in all, the former of which is as follows^a; “This,” he says, “is proved first of all by the creeds of the Churches, by which, as by notes and passwords, Christians were formerly distinguished from infidels, and as many as professed to believe them were inscribed and enrolled in the public list and register of Christians. For in these the belief and profession of this peculiar mode [of Sonship] is at no time and in no place found to have been either required or made. The most ancient creed, and that which was ordinarily used in the earliest administration of baptism from the very times of the Apostles, ran thus; ‘I believe in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost;’ according, *i.e.* to the form which had been prescribed by Jesus Himself, ‘Go ye and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.’ The statements¹ of this creed, which occur in various forms in ancient authors, for instance in Irenæus, i. 2 and 3, in Tertullian’s treatises On Prescription against Heresies, and On the Veiling of Virgins, &c., none of them contain the profession of this mode [of Sonship], much less declare the necessity of professing it. And yet Irenæus says of the creed which he gives, that it is so complete that theological learning could add nothing to it, nor want of

¹ ἐξηγήσεις.

^a [Page 340.]

learning take from it. * Tertullian also says of his, 'To know nothing beyond it, is to know everything,' &c. (*Nihil ultra scire, omnia scire est, &c.*) The Apostles' Creed itself, as it is called, though it is not clear at what time it was composed, was, I have not the least doubt, gradually and successively enlarged by the addition now of one and now of another article, as various heresies gave occasion. Yet, like the preceding creeds, it was so carefully composed, that some, the Papists for instance, suppose (though incorrectly) that it was compiled by the Apostles themselves, each article having been expressed by an Apostle, and then the entire creed having been put together by one, with approbation [of all]: but be this as it may, it has been regarded by all Christian Churches,—though not perhaps in precisely the full form in which we now read it, in the first three centuries, yet, at any rate, from the fourth century down to the present day,—as the undoubted, perfect, and Catholic rule of the Christian faith; this creed, I repeat, makes no mention at all of this peculiar mode of Sonship, but is content with this short form; 'I believe in Jesus Christ, His only-begotten Son, our Lord.' "

CHAP. IV.
§ 1, 2.

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2. I answer, 1st, That an argument of this sort can be here of no avail. For since it has been abundantly proved from the testimonies adduced above, which are clearer than light, that the belief and profession of this particular mode of the Sonship of Jesus Christ was judged by the primitive Churches to be necessary to salvation, who will trust a man who endeavours to prove the opposite from this fact,—that the creeds which they used do not contain that belief and profession with sufficient explicitness? For my own part, I should suppose that the directly opposite conclusion ought to be drawn; namely, that inasmuch as from other sources it is clear enough, that the belief and profession of this mode [of Christ's Sonship] was judged by the primitive Churches to be absolutely necessary to salvation, it must, therefore, be by all means concluded, that the said mode is contained with sufficient explicitness in the creeds, or confessions of faith, which those Churches used; or, at any rate, was supposed by themselves to be contained [in them] with sufficient explicitness. And, indeed, it is well known, that the

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¹ omnino
pertinere
ad.

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Catholic doctors who lived long before the Nicene Creed was framed, were of opinion, that the doctrine respecting the true divinity of the Son was contained in the rule of faith ; in other words, in the creeds which were received in the Church in their own age. For Irenæus and Tertullian expressly affirm, as we shall hereafter shew, that that doctrine unquestionably formed a part¹ of the rule of faith. Caius, also, as cited by Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. v. last chapter, says of the Artemonites, who denied that Christ was God, that “they set aside the rule of the ancient faith” (*πίστεως ἀρχαίας κανόνα ἡθετήκασιν*). The Fathers of Antioch likewise, in their Synodical Epistle, as given in Eusebius’ Eccles. Hist. vii. 30, called Paul of Samosata, as we have already observed, “one who had departed from the rule [of faith]” (*ἀποστάντα τοῦ κανόνος*). This argument, therefore, of Episcopus, if it proves anything, only proves that the primitive Churches did not express with sufficient clearness in their creeds, that article, which [yet] they judged to be necessary. But, 2dly, there is no reason why any one should bring this charge against them. That this may be made clear, we will run through the creeds mentioned by Episcopus, following him step by step.

angulo.

3. “The most ancient [creed],” says he, “and that which was ordinarily used from the very times of the Apostles in the first administration of baptism, was this ; ‘I believe in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.’” I answer, 1. That this was never regarded as a full and perfect creed, such as comprehended all the necessary articles of the faith in express words ; (that man indeed is not in his proper senses, who supposes that the whole of the Christian faith is shut up in so narrow a space² ;) but only as a very brief and compendious confession of the primary article of the most Holy Trinity, to be made by the person about to be baptized, who had previously been taught the meaning of it more fully and plainly by his catechiser. 2. But yet in this creed, such as it is, the true divinity of the Son (as also that of the Holy Ghost) is at any rate so explicitly stated, that it is hardly possible to have it expressed more clearly in so small a compass of words. For, 1st, it is evident, that in the form, “I believe in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost,”

the word "God" is referred to all Three, viz. the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, in common¹. Which is still more plainly expressed in the Greek, Πιστεύω εἰς τὸν Θεὸν τὸν Πατέρα, τὸν Υἱὸν, καὶ τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα. It was in this sense, certainly, that the ancients understood this brief confession. Hence, Tertullian, Against Praxeas, chap. 13^b, while setting forth the common faith of Christians respecting the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, says; "The Father is God, and the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God, and each is God." Cyprian, in like manner, in a letter to Jubaianus^c, argues thus against the baptism of heretics; "If any one could have been baptized among heretics, it follows that he might also have obtained remission of sins; if he has obtained remission of sins, he has also been sanctified, and made the temple of God. But I ask, Of what God? [If you say,] Of the Creator; he could not [be so]; for he has not believed in Him. If, Of Christ; neither could he have been made His temple, who denies that Christ is God. If, Of the Holy Ghost; seeing that the Three are One, how can the Holy Ghost be at peace with him, who is an enemy either of the Son or of the Father?" Here he manifestly alludes to the form of confession respecting the most Holy Trinity, which used to be required of persons about to be baptized, that, I mean, wherein they professed that they believed in the Father as God, in the Son as God, and in the Holy Ghost as God, and that these Three are One God. The attentive reader will also observe by the way, that St. Cyprian, in this passage, teaches most explicitly, that the article respecting the true divinity of Christ our Lord is absolutely necessary to be believed in order to salvation. For he says expressly, "He cannot become a temple of God," (which surely is the same thing as if he had said, he cannot be saved,) "who denies that Christ is God." But to return to my subject. To myself it certainly appears, that in these

CHAP. IV.
§ 2, 3.

¹ ἅπὸ κοινού.

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^b Et Pater Deus, et Filius Deus, et Spiritus S. Deus, et Deus unusquisque.—[p. 507.]

^c Si baptizari quis apud hæreticos potuit, utique et remissam peccatorum consequi potuit; si peccatorum remissionem consecutus est, et sanctificatus est, et templum Dei factus est.

Quæro, *Cujus Dei?* si Creatoris; non potuit, quia in eum non credidit: Si *Christi*; nec hujus fieri potuit templum, qui negat *Deum Christum*: Si *Spiritus Sancti*; cum tres unum sint, quomodo Spiritus S. placatus esse ei potest, qui aut Filii aut Patris inimicus est?—[p. 133.]

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few words, "I believe in God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost," the great truth, that the Son and the Holy Ghost are one God with the Father, is, up to a certain point, more clearly expressed than in some fuller creeds which were made subsequently. For, owing to the additional clauses after the words, "I believe in God the Father," as well as what is added after the mention of the Son, without the word God being repeated in the articles on the Son and the Holy Ghost, it might have been thought, and by some persons actually has been thought, that the appellation God belonged only to the Father; altogether contrary to the mind and view of those, who framed those longer creeds.

¹ compe-
tent.

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4. 2dly, In this form, the Son (as also the Holy Ghost) is joined to the Father, as sharing in supreme power, and partaking in that faith, honour, worship, and obedience, which the person to be baptized professes, vows, and promises: now if any one thinks that this is suited to a mere man or any creature whatsoever, it must indeed be said, that he is altogether ignorant of what is meant by the dreadful charge of idolatry. That this may appear in a clearer light, it should be especially observed, that in the primitive Church two things were required of the candidates¹, immediately before their baptism; a renunciation of Satan (*ἀποταγή* or *ἀπόταξις τοῦ Σατανᾶ*.) and an engagement of themselves to Christ (*συνταγή* or *σύνταξις πρὸς τὸν Χριστόν*.) The renunciation was made in these (or similar) words; "I renounce Satan, his works, his worship, &c." After the renunciation immediately followed the engagement, in these words; "I believe in God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost"^d. Now inasmuch as the formula both of renunciation and engagement was received in all the Churches of Christ in the first centuries, it cannot be doubted that it came from the Apostles themselves. As, however, those who came to baptism did, by this renunciation, entirely renounce the worship of the devil, and so of idols, and of all false gods; so by the engagement did they wholly bind themselves to the worship of the One true God, namely, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. This,

^d See the Apostolical Constitutions, vii. 41, and Cyril of Jerusalem's Catech. Myst. i.

indeed, is gathered not obscurely from the Dialogue, entitled *Philopatris*, written by Lucian, or some other, who, at any rate, was a contemporary, and of similar mind to him. In this work the writer, who was coeval with the first successors of the Apostles, and, though a heathen, well acquainted with Christian affairs, introduces in ridicule one Triephon, who acts the part of a Christian teacher and catechist, and communicates to a catechumen, among other things, the mystery of the most Holy Trinity. For on the catechumen inquiring; “By whom then shall I swear to you?” Triephon answers^e; “By the God, who reigns on high, great, immortal, celestial, the Son of the Father, the Spirit who proceeds from the Father, One of¹ Three, and Three of² One: ¹ ἐξ. ² ἐξ. believe these to be Jove, and esteem Him God.” From this testimony, I repeat, we may gather, that those who in that age came from heathenism to the Church of Christ, were absolutely bound to this,—to relinquish Jupiter and the other vain names and deities, which they had worshipped in their paganism, and thenceforward to devote and consecrate themselves entirely to the belief, worship, and obedience of the Triune God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, as their one and only God. This remarkable passage the reader may find more fully explained, and abundantly vindicated from the cavils of Sandius, in my Defence of the Nicene Creed, ii. 4. 11. [pp. 156—160.] Let this then suffice respecting the first and, what Episcopius designates, “the most ancient” of the creeds.

5. Let us proceed to the statements³ of the Creed, which ³ ἐξηγήσεις. are found in Irenæus and Tertullian. “None of them,” says Episcopius, “contains a profession of this mode [of Sonship];” that is, in none of these expositions is anything contained, which declares our Saviour to be the Son of God in any other mode than such as is consistent with His being a mere man, not having any existence before [His birth of] Mary. This statement, however, I assert, is so palpably untrue, that I am utterly at a loss to conceive with what judgment, good [88] faith, or conscience, the learned writer could so confidently

^e ὑψιμέδοντα Θεόν, μέγαν, ἀμβροτον, οὐρανίωνα, υἷον Πατρός, πνεῦμα ἐκ Πατρὸς ἐκπο-

ρευόμενον, ἐν ἐκ τριῶν, καὶ ἐξ ἑνὸς τρία. ταῦτα νόμιξε Ζήνων, τὸν δὲ ἡγοῦ Θεόν.— [Vol. iii. p. 596, ed. Hemsterhus.]

affirm it. I will begin with Irenæus. In chap. 1 of his first book ^f, he cursorily mentions "the canon," or "rule of the truth," (τὸν κανόνα τῆς ἀληθείας,) which in his time every Christian "received by his baptism," (διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος εἴληφε.) This rule of faith he afterwards in various passages and various ways, though always in the same sense, states and sets forth. And a man is blinder than a mole, if he fails to see that in these expositions the divine Sonship of our Saviour is declared, in all indeed explicitly enough, but in some with the utmost explicitness. In chap. 2 of his first book, he states the rule of faith in the following words ^g; "For the Church, though scattered through the whole world, even to the ends of the earth, yet having received from the Apostles and their disciples the belief in one God, the Father Almighty, who made the heaven and the earth and the seas, and all things that are therein; and in one Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who was incarnate for our salvation; and in the Holy Ghost, who through the prophets proclaimed ¹ the dispensations, and the advents ^{2 h}, and the birth of a virgin, and the passion, and the resurrection from the dead, and the receiving into heaven of the beloved Christ Jesus our Lord, in the flesh, and His coming from heaven in the glory of the Father, in order to sum up all things ³, and to raise up all the flesh of all mankind, that to Christ Jesus our Lord and God, and Saviour, and King, according to the good pleasure of the invisible Father, every knee should bow, of things in heaven and things in earth and things under the earth, and every tongue confess to Him, and that He may

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¹ κεκερυ-
χός.
² ἐλεύσεις.

³ ἀνακεφα-
λαιώσασθαι.

^f [ὁ τὸν κανόνα τῆς ἀληθείας ἀκλινῇ ἐν αὐτῷ κατέχων, ὃν διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος εἴληφε. . .] Page 40. edit. Feuardent. [c. 9, 4. p. 46.]

^g ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐκκλησία, καίπερ καθ' ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἕως περάτων τῆς γῆς διεσπαρμένη, παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν ἐκείνων μαθητῶν παραλαβούσα τὴν εἰς ἓνα Θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα, τὸν πεποιηκότα τὸν οὐρανὸν, καὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ τὰς θαλάσσας, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς, πίστιν καὶ εἰς ἓνα Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸν σαρκωθέντα ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας σωτηρίας καὶ εἰς πνεῦμα ἅγιον, τὸ διὰ τῶν προφητῶν κεκηρυχὸς τὰς οἰκονομίας, καὶ τὰς ἐλεύσεις, καὶ τὴν ἐκ παρθένου γέννη-

σιν, καὶ τὸ πάθος, καὶ τὴν ἔγερσιν ἐκ νεκρῶν, καὶ τὴν ἑνσαρκὸν εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἀνάληψιν τοῦ ἡγαπημένου Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν, καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐν τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ Πατρὸς παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ, ἐπὶ τὸ ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι τὰ πάντα, καὶ ἀναστήσαι πᾶσαν σάρκα πάσης ἀνθρωπότητος, ἵνα Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, καὶ Θεῷ, καὶ σωτῆρι, καὶ βασιλεῖ, κατὰ τὴν εὐδοκίαν τοῦ Πατρὸς τοῦ ἀοράτου, πᾶν γόνυ κάμψῃ ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων, καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσῃται αὐτῷ, καὶ κρίσιν δικαίαν ἐν τοῖς πᾶσι ποιήσῃται.—[c. 10. p. 48.]

^h For *adventum* in the Latin, Grabe would read *adventus*.

execute upon¹ all a righteous judgment." In this exposition of the ancient creed, the Catholic Church dispersed throughout the world is said to believe in Christ, as "the Son of God,"¹ *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ*, who was incarnate for our salvation," (*τὸν ἐνσαρκωθέντα ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας σωτήριαις*), which are almost the very words of the Creed of Constantinople, and, as we shall shew hereafter, were contained in the most ancient creed of the Eastern Church, which was more full. In these words, all, who are willing to see, will find it clearly intimated, that our Saviour, before He became man, existed and was the Son of God in a nature without flesh, and also that He took flesh or human nature, out of His good-will to the race of man, that is, in order that He might procure eternal salvation for us men¹. But what sort of incarnation of the Son of God was believed in by Irenæus, who has given us this exposition of the creed, no one can doubt, who has been ever so slightly acquainted with his writings. If any proof be needed, let the quotation of a single passage out of many suffice as a comment from book iii. chap. 20^k; where in making a kind of recapitulation of what he had been previously discussing, he writes thus; "Since it has been manifestly shewn, that He who was in the beginning the Word existing with God, through whom all things were made, who also was ever present with the human race, did in the last times, according to the time predetermined by the Father, become united to His own creature, being made man capable of suffering, all gainsaying is precluded of those who say, 'If then Christ was at that time born, He had therefore no existence before.' For we have shewn, that the Son of God, who was always in being with the Father, did not then begin to be; but that when He was 'incarnate,' and was made man, He summed up² in Himself the long series of mankind, affording salvation for

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² recapitulavit.

¹ ὁ Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ὁ Κύριος, ὁ σώσας ἡμᾶς, ὃν μὲν τὸ πρῶτον πνεῦμα, ἐγένετο σώζων. "Jesus Christ, the Lord who saved us, was at the first Spirit, and became Flesh."—Clement of Rome, Ep. ii. [§ 9. p. 188. This Epistle, however, is rejected by most critics as spurious.—B.]

^k Ostenso manifeste, quod in principio Verbum existens apud Deum, per quem omnia facta sunt, qui et semper aderat generi humano, hunc

in novissimis temporibus secundum præfinitum tempus a Patre, unitum suo plasmati, passibilem hominem factum, exclusa est omnis contradictio dicentium, Si ergo tunc natus est, non erat ergo ante Christum. Ostendimus enim, quia non tunc cœpit Filius Dei, existens semper apud Patrem, sed quando *incarnatus* est, et homo factus, longam hominum expositionem in seipso recapitulavit, in compendio nobis salutem præstans; ut quod per-

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us all at once; so that what we had lost in Adam, that is, the being after the image and likeness of God, this we might recover in Christ Jesus. For as it was not possible, that man, who had been once conquered and ruined by his disobedience, should re-create himself¹ and obtain the reward² of victory; and again, [as] it was impossible, that he who had fallen under sin should gain salvation; both were effected by the Son, who is the Word of God, who came down from the Father, and was incarnate, and humbled Himself even unto death, and perfected the dispensation of our salvation." From this appears clearer than the light of noonday what Irenæus means by "believing in the Son of God, who was incarnate for our salvation." Moreover, in this exposition of the creed, of which we are now speaking, our Saviour is not only called "the Son of God," but "God," in express terms; a name, which, in the judgment of Irenæus, ought not to be attributed absolutely [*i. e.* without expressed qualification] to any one, and in fact is not so attributed in the Holy Scriptures, especially those of the New Testament, to any one except to Him, who is really God. See particularly Irenæus, book iii. 6.

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6. But in other passages also Irenæus states and sets forth the rule of faith; for instance, in book i. chap. 19¹, where the pre-existence of the Son, not merely before [His birth of] Mary, but also before all creatures,—and the creation of all things by Him, and that as by the Word, nowise external to God His Father, (as are all created beings, even the angels themselves,) but most intimate and co-essential with Him, is most clearly expressed. Here are his own words, reader, judge for yourself; "But since we hold 'the rule of truth,' *i. e.* that there is one God Almighty, who created and ordered³ all things through His Word, and out of that, which was not, made all things to exist, as the Scripture saith, 'For

dideramus in Adam, id est, secundum imaginem et similitudinem esse Dei, hoc in Christo Jesu recipemus. Quia enim non erat possibile, eum hominem, qui semel victus fuerat et elisus per inobedientiam, replasmare, et obtinere bravium victoriæ; iterum autem impossibile erat, ut salutem perciperet qui sub peccato ceciderat; utraque operatus est Filius, Verbum Dei ex-

istens, a Patre descendens, et incarnatus, et usque ad mortem descendens, et dispensationem consummans salutis nostræ.—[c. 18. p. 209.]

¹ Cum teneamus autem nos *regulam veritatis*, *i. e.* quia sit unus Deus omnipotens, qui omnia condidit per Verbum suum, et aptavit, et fecit ex eo quod non erat, ad hoc ut sint omnia, quemadmodum Scriptura dicit,

¹ replasmare.
² bravium.

³ aptavit.

by the Word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the host of them by the breath [Spirit] of His mouth¹; and again, 'All things were made by Him, and without Him was nothing made².' Now from all things there is nothing excepted; but through Him did the Father make all things, whether visible or invisible; whether objects of sense or objects of the understanding; whether things temporal for some dispensation³, or things everlasting and eternal⁴,—[by Him,] not by angels, nor by any powers cut off from His mind; for the God of all stands in need of nothing; but through His Word and Spirit making, and disposing, and governing, and giving being to all things, &c. . . . Holding then this rule, though their statements are very various and many, we prove without difficulty that they have deviated from the truth." The reader should by all means consult those passages of Irenæus akin to this, which we have adduced in the Defence of the Nicene Creed, ii. 5. 7. [pp. 172, &c.]

CHAP. IV.
§ 5—7.

¹ [Psalm xxxiii. 6.]
² [John i. 3.]

³ propter quamdam dispositionem.
⁴ æonia.

7. To these may, if you please, be further added a third exposition of the primitive creed, given by Irenæus, iii. 4, where, wishing to shew that the tradition of the truth is to be sought not in the conventicles of heretics, but in the Catholic Church, he writes thus^m; "But what if the Apostles even had not left the Scriptures to us, would it not have been our duty to follow the order of the tradition, which they delivered to those to whom they committed the Churches? To this appointment many nations of those barbarians, who believe in Christ, give their assent; having salvation written in their hearts by the Spirit without paper and ink, and carefully guarding the ancient tradition, believing in one God, the

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Verbo enim Domini cæli firmati sunt, et Spiritu oris ejus omnis virtus eorum; et iterum, Omnia per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil: ex omnibus autem nihil subtractum est, sed omnia per ipsum fecit Pater, sive visibilia, sive invisibilia, sive sensibilia, sive intelligibilia, sive temporalia propter quamdam dispositionem, sive sempiterna et æonia, non per angelos, neque per virtutes aliquas abscissas ab ejus sententia; nihil enim indiget omnium Deus; sed per Verbum et Spiritum suum omnia faciens, et disponens, et gubernans, et omnibus

esse præstans, &c. Hanc ergo tenentes regulam, licet valde varia et multa dicant, facile eos deviasse a veritate arguimus.—[c. 22. p. 98.]

^m Quid autem si neque apostoli quidem Scripturas reliquissent nobis, nonne oportebat ordinem sequi traditionis, quam tradiderunt iis quibus committebant ecclesias? Cui ordinationi assentiunt multæ gentes barbarorum eorum qui in Christum credunt, sine charta et atramento scriptam habentes per Spiritum in cordibus suis salutem, et veterem traditionem diligenter custodientes, in unum Deum

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¹ figmentum.

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² sine
literis.

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Maker of heaven and earth, and all things which are therein, through Jesus Christ, the Son of God; who out of His most eminent love to His own creation¹ endured the birth of the Virgin, Himself by Himself uniting man to God; and suffered under Pontius Pilate, and rose again, and was received back in splendour, and will come in glory as the Saviour of those that are saved, and the Judge of those that are judged, sending into everlasting fire those who transform the truth and despise His Father and His coming. They that have believed this faith without writing², are in respect of our language barbarians; but with respect to opinion, and practice, and conversation, they are, by reason of their faith, the very wisest [of men], and please God, living in all righteousness, chastity and wisdom. If to these persons one shall report the inventions of the heretics, speaking with them in their own tongue, they will at once shut their ears and flee far and far away, not enduring even to hear the blasphemous discourse." In this rule of faith, Christ is said to be that Son of God, through whom the heaven and the earth and the sea, and all that is therein, were created and made, who out of supreme love and compassion to the work of His own hands,—that is, to the human race,—was content to be born [as] man of the Virgin, and so united man with God. This tradition of the faith Irenæus affirms to be so universal and so ancient, that even the barbarous nations themselves, who had not as yet the Holy Scriptures translated into their mother-tongue, retained it, having received it at first from the Apostles, that is, or their disciples, together with the gospel itself, of which indeed it is the principal part; and was

credentes Fabricatorem cœli et terræ et omnium quæ in eis sunt, per Christum Jesum Dei Filium; qui propter eminentissimam erga figmentum suum dilectionem, eam quæ esset ex Virgine generationem sustinuit, ipse per se hominem adunans Deo, et passus sub Pontio Pilato, et resurgens, et in claritate receptus, in gloria venturus Salvator eorum qui salvantur, et Judex eorum qui judicantur, et mittens in ignem æternum transfiguratores veritatis, et contemptores Patris sui et adventus ejus. Hanc fidem qui sine

literis crediderunt, quantum ad sermonem nostrum barbari sunt; quantum autem ad sententiam, et consuetudinem, et conversationem, propter fidem perquam sapientissimi sunt, et placent Deo, conversantes in omni justitia et castitate et sapientia. Quibus si aliquis annuntiaverit ea quæ ab hæreticis adinventæ sunt, proprio sermone eorum colloquens, statim concludentes aures longo longius fugient, ne audire quidem sustinentes blasphemum colloquium.—[p. 178.]

moreover regarded by all Catholic Christians of those times as so sacred, that even those very barbarians themselves abominated any doctrine which was repugnant to it as an impious heresy, and even as blasphemy.

8. Let us now examine the statements of Tertullian. In his treatise *On the Veiling of Virgins*, not far from the beginning, the rule of faith is rather referred to incidentally, than recited, by Tertullian, and so of course is stated in a mutilated and incomplete form. For Christ is there called not even "our Lord," nor "the only-begotten Son of God," but simply "the Son of God;" yet this was of itself sufficient for Tertullian to have said incidentally concerning Christ, since he in common with all the ancient Catholics uniformly understood the appellation "Son of God" to be applied to Christ in the higher sense. But in that rule there is no mention made of Christ's conception, as man, by the Holy Ghost, nor indeed of the Holy Ghost Himself. But still I do not deny that I am inclined to think, that Tertullian in this passage has specially in view the Creed which was in use, in his time, in the African Church, which was almost the same as the Roman Creed; since the Roman Church "had the same password" of faith with the African Churches, to use Tertullian's own phrase, in his work *On the Prescription against Heresies*, c. 36. But the Roman Creed, although fuller than Tertullian's incidental statement in this place, yet was more brief than the creeds of the Eastern Churches, as in other articles, so in this of the Son of God, for reasons which we shall notice presently. But meanwhile, the belief of the Roman and of the Eastern Churches was always the same: they all confessed the article touching the Son of God in the same fulness of meaning, though not of words. Nor indeed was Tertullian ignorant of this.

¹ *contes-
sarit.*

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9. Hence, in the second passage which Episcopius refers to, I mean in his work *On the Prescription against Heresies*, chap. 13, where he also states the rule of faith, he exhibits the article on the Son of God in a more full and explicit form, describing in terms clearer than the sun the existence of the Son, not only before [His birth of] the blessed Virgin, but also before all ages; and further, the creation of all

things by Him. For after saying, that that alone should be matter of controversy which may be brought into question without infringing the rule of faith, he immediately subjoins that rule in this mannerⁿ; “But, that we may at once profess what we maintain, the rule of faith [of which we speak] is that by which we believe that there is one only God, and no other than the Creator of the universe, who produced all things out of nothing by His Word, which was sent down first of all: that Word, called His Son, appeared in various ways, under the name of God, to the patriarchs, and was always heard in the prophets; lastly, came down by the Spirit and power of God the Father into the Virgin Mary, was made flesh in her womb, was born of her, and lived [as] Jesus Christ, &c.” After finishing the creed, he adds these words; “This rule, which, as will be proved, was established by Christ, admits of no questionings among us, except such as heresies introduce, and which make heretics.” What could have been said more effectual and express against the assertion of Episcopi^{us} than this? You have, however, this same rule of faith again set down by Tertullian, in his Treatise against Praxeas, chap. 2^o; “We believe,” he says, “that there is indeed one only God; but under this dispensation, which we call economy, that to the one only God there is also a Son, [who is] His Word, who came forth from Him, by whom all things were made, and without whom nothing was made; that He was sent by the Father into the Virgin, and of her was born, man and God, the Son of man and Son of God, and was called Jesus Christ, &c.” After which he adds; “That this rule has come down from the beginning of

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ⁿ Regula est autem fidei, ut jam hinc quid defendamus profiteamur, illa scilicet qua creditur, unum omnino Deum esse, nec alium præter mundi Conditorum, qui universa de nihilo produxerit per Verbum suum primo omnium demissum; id Verbum Filium ejus appellatum, in nomine Dei varie visum a patriarchis, in prophetis semper auditum; postremo delatum ex Spiritu Patris Dei et virtute in Virginem Mariam, carnem factum in utero ejus, et ex ea natum egisse Jesum Christum, &c. . . . Hæc re-

gula, a Christo, ut probabitur, instituta, nullas habet apud nos questionum, nisi quas hæreses inferunt, et quæ hæreticos faciunt.—[p. 206.]

^o Nos unicum quidem Deum credimus, sub hac tamen dispensatione, quam *oikonomia* dicimus, ut unicus Dei sit et Filius Sermo ipsius, qui ex ipso processerit, per quem omnia facta sunt, et sine quo factum est nihil. Hunc missum a Patre in Virginem, et ex ea natum hominem et Deum, Filium hominis et Filium Dei, et cognominatum Jesum Christum, &c. . . .

the Gospel, even before all earlier heretics, much more before Praxeas, who is but of yesterday, as will be proved as well by the late rise¹ of all heretics, as by the novelty of Praxeas, who is of yesterday.” From this surely it is at length abundantly evident, how rash or how shameless is the appeal of Episcopius to those expositions of the ancient creed which are found in Irenæus and Tertullian.

CHAP. IV.
§ 9.

¹ posteritas.

. . . Hanc regulam ab initio evangelii decucurrisse, etiam ante priores quosque hæreticos, nedum ante Praxeam hesternum, probabit tam ipsa

posteritas omnium hæreticorum, quam ipsa novellitas Praxeæ hesterni.—[P. 501.]

OF THAT WHICH IS CALLED THE APOSTLES' CREED.

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1. I COME now to that which is called the Apostles' Creed ; of which Episcopus says ; " The so-called Apostles' Creed itself makes no mention at all of this peculiar mode of Sonship, but is content with this short form ; ' I believe in Jesus Christ, His only-begotten Son, our Lord.' " This is Episcopus's principal argument ; and since his time it has been vehemently urged by the author of the *Irenicum* and by Sandius ; and it has been constantly put forward by recent writers among ourselves, who have revived, some the Arian, some the Socinian follies, in their little works, equally impious and spiritless ; who moreover, by screening and defending themselves with this as their shield, think themselves perfectly safe from the charge of heresy, which has been most justly fastened upon them by Catholics.

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2. That I may therefore meet this argument, in which these vain men so greatly confide and glory, with accumulated replies, I propose to demonstrate the four following propositions ; 1. That what is called the Apostles' Creed, though it is conformable to the doctrine of the Apostles, was by no means dictated or composed by the Apostles themselves, in so many words, and in the same form and method, in which we now see it at this day ; but in fact is nothing else than the creed of the Church of Rome, which did not receive its completion in that Church until after the year of Christ 400 ; the Eastern Churches in the meanwhile using another creed. 2. That the Church of Rome was able formerly to use, and further did use, a more succinct and shorter creed than what was required in the Churches of the East, because the latter were harassed by heretics of almost every kind ; whilst in the Church of Rome there arose no heresy which taught that its shorter confession of

faith ought to be understood in any other way than according to the right intention (*κατ' ὀρθὴν ἐννοίαν*), and the genuine meaning of the Church. 3. That, notwithstanding, a profession of this special mode of the Sonship of Jesus Christ is really contained in the Roman Creed, in the words, "And I believe in Jesus Christ, His" (i.e. God the Father's) "only-begotten Son." 4. Lastly, in the creed, or rule of faith, which was in use before the Council of Nice, in the most ancient Churches of the East, that special mode of the Sonship of Jesus Christ was delivered and declared in express terms.

3. The first proposition has been abundantly proved by that eminent man, John Gerhard Vossius, throughout the first of his three dissertations On the Three Creeds. To that dissertation (that I may not go over the ground again) I refer the reader.

The second proposition is proved by the testimony of [97] Ruffinus, who has this preface before his Exposition of the Creed^a; "Before I begin to discourse on the excellences of the words, I think it not out of place to remark, that in different Churches some additions to the words of the creed are found. In the Church of the city of Rome, however, we do not find that this has been done; the reason of which, I conceive, is this, that *no heresy has ever had its origin there*; and that in that Church the ancient custom is kept up, that such as are about to receive the grace of baptism should repeat the creed in public, that is, in the hearing of the congregation of the faithful; and, as is plain, the circumstance that persons who are already believers are present and hearing, does not admit the addition of even one word. But in all other places, so far as I can understand, *on account of some heretics*, certain words appear to have been added, by which, as was believed, the sense given to the words

^a Priusquam incipiam de ipsis sermonum virtutibus disputare, illud non importune commonendum puto, quod in diversis ecclesiis aliqua in his verbis inveniuntur adjecta. In ecclesia tamen urbis Romæ hoc non deprehenditur factum; quod ego propterea esse arbitror, quod neque *hæresis ulla illic sumpsit exordium*; et mos ibi servatur antiquus, eos, qui gratiam baptismi suscepturi sunt, publice, id est,

fidelium populo audiente, symbolum reddere; et utique adjectionem unius saltem sermonis, eorum qui præcesserunt in fide non admittit auditus. In cæteris autem locis, quantum intelligi datur, *propter nonnullos hæreticos* addita quædam videntur, per quæ novellæ doctrinæ sensus crederetur excludi." — [§ 3. ad calcem Op. S. Cypr. p. cxcix.]

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by their novel doctrine might be excluded." Thus he writes. And, indeed, it is clear that the Simonians, the Cerinthians, the Ebionites, and the other pests of the primitive Church, did not spread their impious dogmas at Rome, but in the East, and especially in Asia. Hence Ignatius, in the Epistles which he addressed to the Asiatic Churches, glances at those heretics throughout; but, when writing to the Romans, he does not reprehend any heresy as existing in their Church. So far from it, in the very salutation he expressly commends the Romans for their perfect purity of faith, calling them^b "united in every commandment of Christ, filled without distinction¹ with the grace of God, and strained off² from every strange colour." And on this account principally, as I conceive, Tertullian, in his Prescription against Heresies, chap. 36^c, calls the Church of Rome, *felicem ecclesiam*,—"happy and prosperous" in condition. O that this happiness, this purity of faith, had been perpetual in that Church! but, alas! we may now exclaim in the words of the inspired prophet, "How is the faithful city become an harlot³!"

¹ ἀδιακρίτως.

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² ἀποδιῦλισμένους.

³ Isaiah i. 21.

4. I come to the third proposition, on the proof of which I must dwell longer. That, at any rate, in the Roman Creed Christ is called the one-only, or only-begotten Son of God, (τὸν μονογενῆ,) in respect to His divine nature, whereby He was in being not merely before [His birth of] Mary, but also before all ages, of and with God the Father, admits of easy proof, from the passages of Scripture in which the term "only-begotten" (μονογενῆς) is found applied to Christ, (for there is no ground for our suspecting that the Church took the word in any other sense than that in which it is used in the Scriptures, from which it was derived,) from the force and proper meaning⁴ of the term itself, from the order and context of the words of the creed, and lastly, from the consistent and unvarying sense and interpretation of the Catholic Church.

⁴ propriety.

First, as regards the Scriptures: the first passage where the term occurs, as applied to Christ, is John i. 14; "And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us; and we

^b ἡνωμένοις ἐν πάσῃ ἐντολῇ Χριστοῦ, πεπληρωμένοις χάριτος Θεοῦ ἀδιακρίτως, καὶ ἀποδιῦλισμένοις ἀπὸ παντὸς ἄλλο-

τρίου χρώματος.—[p. 25.]
^c [P. 215.]

beheld His glory, the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father" (*μονογενοῦς παρὰ Πατρός*). Where it is manifest that the expression, *μονογενὴς παρὰ Πατρός*, "only-begotten of the Father," is the same in meaning as *μόνος παρὰ Πατρός γεννηθείς*, "alone begotten of the Father," the verbal noun having the force of the verb. Those who refer the words *παρὰ Πατρός*, "of the Father," to *δόξαν*, "the glory," introduce into the sentence without any necessity an over-harsh transposition, and besides, an ellipsis of the participle *παραληφθεῖσαν*, "received" [*q.d.* "glory received from the Father"]. But the words *μονογενὴς παρὰ Πατρός* seem to me to express the divine generation of the Son from the Father more significantly than if the Apostle had written *μονογενὴς τοῦ Πατρός*; inasmuch as the preposition *παρὰ* suggests the idea of the Word being in such sense the only Son of God the Father, as that He alone was truly begotten by ¹ ab. and of ² the Father Himself. Besides, it is to the Word, ² ex. who was in the beginning with God, and was God, and by whom all things were made, (verses 1, 2,) that this title is assigned by the Apostle; from which it is clear, that it is with respect to His divine nature, wherein He existed before the worlds, that Christ is called "the only-begotten of the Father" (*μονογενὴς παρὰ Πατρός*). Nor, lastly, is Grotius's observation foreign to the point, [*viz.*] that John in this passage is glancing at the Gnostics, who made the Logos one, the Only-begotten another, and Jesus a third; and who reckoned the Only-begotten amongst their *Æons*, which were produced before the creation of this world. The Apostle therefore shews that Christ our Lord alone is the true Logos, and likewise the true Only-begotten of the Father, inasmuch as He alone was begotten of the Father before the worlds. In the same sense the word *μονογενὴς*, "only-begotten," must be explained in other passages where it occurs, (for instance, John iii. 16, and 1 John iv. 9;) and that according to the explanation of Episcopius himself, who argues from those passages thus^d; "It is certain that" (in those passages, that is,) "that charity and love of God is extolled and lauded in very high terms, by which He sent His only-begotten and own³ Son into the world, and even gave Him up to the ³proprium.

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^d [P. 337.]

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CHURCH.¹ filios.

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² quæ
dilectionis
ἐξοχῆ.

death of the cross itself, to save sinners, the children¹ of God's wrath. But if the only-begotten Son of God mean nothing else than Jesus, so far forth as He was born man of the Virgin, the reason why that love is so greatly extolled does not appear so clearly as it would, if the only-begotten Son of God signify the Son whom the Father begat before the worlds. For that Son who was born of the Virgin Mary, was born of her for this reason, that He might be given up unto death for sinners. But what preeminent love² is there in God's having given up that Son unto death, whom He willed to be born of Mary, and to be conceived of the Holy Spirit, for that purpose that He might die for sinners? But if, on the other hand, you conceive the Son of God to be Him who was begotten of the Father before all worlds, who needed not to be sent into the world, who needed not to have become man, whose dignity was greater than that He should be sent or come in the flesh, much less be delivered up to death, and who indeed, as His only-begotten and one-only Son, seemed to be too dear to the Father to be thus forcibly thrust by Him into so great misery; in that case, the charity and loving-kindness of God toward the race of man does indeed shine forth in amazing splendour and glory." Thus writes Episcopius. Would that he had thus written all—would that he had thus written always! Indeed, to any one who considers the subject with attention, it will be manifest that, on the Socinian or the Arian hypothesis, God in this matter has shewn His love and good-will rather towards that His own Son than towards us men. For what? He who is called Christ, was, out of God's mere good-will and pleasure, chosen to such favour as, after a short exercise of obedience to God here on earth, Himself to become God from being simply man, according to the Socinians, or, as the Arian heretics say, [from being] a mere creature subject to change; and to attain to divine honours, to be paid to Him not only by us men, but also by the very angels and archangels, and accordingly to obtain dominion and power over all other creatures. I say moreover, that not even does the love and charity of God's only-begotten Son Himself towards us men clearly appear, (although that also [as well as the love of the Father] is throughout celebrated in exalted terms in the Holy Scrip-

tures, and especially in the well-known passage in the Epistle to the Ephesians, iii. 18, 19,) unless we imagine the Son of God to be Him who was begotten of the Father before all worlds, by whom all things were made, who for us men, and for our salvation, came down from heaven, and was incarnate, &c. But, on the contrary, that "most eminent love of the Son of God to His own workmanship," as we have heard St. Irenæus speak a little before, is in this way very clearly seen; this, however, by the way. For the rest, I do not see how Episcopius can be reconciled with Episcopius. In those passages of Scripture where Christ is called "the only-begotten Son of God," he contends that the only-begotten Son of God altogether means the Son, whom the Father begat before the worlds, and that therefore under that title is contained that special mode of the Sonship of Jesus Christ. Yet when in the creed, which is composed out of the Scriptures, we confess our faith in Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, he utterly denies that in those words is contained the said special mode of the Sonship of Jesus Christ.

5. Secondly, that Christ is called in the creed the "one-only," or "only-begotten" Son of God, in respect to His divine nature, may be proved from the force and proper meaning of the term itself. For He is called "only-begotten" (*μονογενής*) who alone is Son without any to share in His Sonship¹; that is, whom His Father has as His one-only [Son], and who, in that kind of Sonship from which He is called the Son, has no brother; and who moreover is Son by nature, begotten of the Father Himself, not made a Son (*υιοποιητός*), not taken or adopted to be a Son. But Christ cannot in this sense be called "the only-begotten" Son of God, unless you regard His divine generation of the Father. For that title does not belong to Him considered as man. And that this may appear more clearly, we will examine those four modes in which (as Episcopius contends) Christ, even as man, is in the Scriptures called by way of preeminence² the Son of God.

The first mode is, "because, so far forth as He is man, He was conceived of the Holy Ghost." And he cites Luke i. 35; "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee: wherefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the

¹ sine
*υιότητος
κοινωνία.*

² κατ'
ἐξοχήν.

Son of God." In reply; I will at present say nothing of the interpretation of this passage by Justin Martyr and Tertullian, who explain "the Holy Ghost" (πνεῦμα ἁγίου) and "the power of the Highest" (δύναμιν Ὑψίστου), of the Word Himself; nor will I insist on the criticism of Novatian, who places an emphasis upon the particle καί^e. The answer I make is this; that in this passage Christ, as man, is called "the Son of God," on the ground of His being conceived by the Holy Ghost in the Blessed Virgin's womb, but yet He is not there called the "one-only" or "only-begotten" Son of God. But Episcopius says, "This preeminence" (meaning that whereby He was formed in the Virgin's womb by the power of God) "is peculiar to Jesus Christ as man, to which none other either has been like, or ever will be." I reply, that this is not true, and for this reason; the flesh of Christ was conceived and formed in the Virgin's womb without a father, by divine power and operation. But was not the first man formed without either father or mother, by the hands of God Himself? And is he not on this account expressly called, in Luke iii. 38, "the son of God?" Therefore it is not in this that that preeminence of Jesus Christ consists, from which He is called the one-only or only-begotten Son; nay, on this ground the first Adam will be in a certain sense superior to the second; inasmuch as the former was made by God, without either father or mother, but the latter without a father only. That wonderful generation of the first man is beautifully described by Philo Judæus in his treatise On Noble Birth^f, where he thus speaks of him; "who for nobleness of origin is not to be compared with any mortal, fashioned as he was into a bodily image by the divine hands in the perfection of plastic art; and endued with a soul, not from any of the beings which had as yet been created, God having breathed into him as much of the divine power as mortal nature was able to receive. Was not his, then, a preeminence of noble origin,

¹ Περὶ
εὐγενείας.

^e See Justin's Apol. ii. p. 75. [Apol. i. 33. p. 64.] and Tertull. adv. Prax. c. 26. Novat. de Trin. c. 19.

^f ὅς ἐνεκα εὐγενείας οὐδενὶ θνητῷ συγκριτος, χερσὶ μὲν θείαις εἰς ἀνδρείοντα τὸν σωματοειδῆ τυπωθεὶς ἀκρότητι τέχ-

νης πλαστικῆς· ψυχῆς δὲ ἀξιωθεὶς ὅπ' οὐδενὸς ἔτι τῶν εἰς γέννησιν ἡκόντων, ἐμπνεύσαντος Θεοῦ τῆς θείας δυνάμεως ὅσον ἡδύνατο δέξασθαι θνητῇ φύσει. ἦν ἔρ' οὐχ ὑπερβολὴ τῆς εὐγενείας, μηδεμίας τῶν ἄλλων, αἱ δὲ ὠνομάσθησαν, εἰς

with which not one of all those others which have been already named is capable of being brought into comparison? For their glory proceeds from the noble birth of their ancestors; but their ancestors were human, mortal creatures, and corruptible, and their high estate for the most part was uncertain and ephemeral; whilst his Father was no mortal, nor was any mortal the author of his being, but God." Accordingly, St. Irenæus affirms that Christ, as man, the second Adam, was in His generation made like unto the first Adam; not indeed entirely, but preserving a likeness, so far as was possible, and as the economy of our salvation would allow. Thus in book iii. 31^g, after he had observed that just as the first-created man was formed by the hands of God Himself out of the earth, yet virgin (*i.e.* not yet pressed by labour, not yet subdued for seed-sowing, as Irenæus is interpreted by Tertullian in his work *On the Flesh of Christ^h*), so Christ, the Restorer of the first Adam, in that He was man, was made of the Virgin Mary by the Holy Ghost, he shortly after subjoins the following; "Now, since he was taken from the ground, and He that formed him was God, it was necessary also that He who thus summeth up¹ into Himself man that had been formed by God, should have the same likeness of His generation with him. Why therefore did God not take dust again, but cause Him to be formed from Mary? [It was] in order that there might not be another nature formed, and that which is saved² might not be another thing; but that he himself might be summed up³ [in Him], the similitude being preserved." That chief preeminence of our Saviour's Sonship, therefore, whereby He is called "the only-begotten" or one-only Son of God, by no means consists in this, that He was produced of the Virgin Mary by the power of the Most High without a human father; since thus far the first man was on a par

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¹ ἀνακεφαλαιούμενον.

² σωζόμενον.

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³ ἀνακεφαλαιωθῇ.

σύγκρισιν ἐλθεῖν δυναμένης; τῶν μὲν γὰρ τὸ κλέος ἐκ προγόνων εὐγενείας· ἄνθρωποι δὲ οἱ πρόγονοι, ζῶα ἐπίκηρα καὶ φθαρτά, καὶ αἱ τούτων ἀβέβαιοι καὶ ἐφήμεροι τὰ πολλὰ εὐπραγίαι· τοῦ δὲ Πατρὸς μὴ θνητὸς οὐδεὶς, οὐδὲ αἴτιος, ἀλλ' ἡ Θεός. —[vol. ii. p. 440.]

^g εἰ δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἐκ γῆς ἐλήφθη, πλαστής δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁ Θεός, ἔδει καὶ τὸν ἀνακεφαλαιούμενον εἰς αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ

πεπλασμένον ἄνθρωπον τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκείνῳ τῆς γεννήσεως ἔχειν ὁμοίτητα. εἰς τί οὖν ἄλιν οὐκ ἔλαβε χοῦν ὁ Θεός, ἀλλ' ἐκ Μαρίας ἐνήργησε τὴν πλάσιν γενέσθαι; ἵνα μὴ ἄλλη πλάσις γένηται, μηδὲ ἄλλο τὸ σωζόμενον, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ἀνακεφαλαιωθῇ, τηρουμένης τῆς ὁμοιότητος. —[c. 21. 10. p. 218.]

^h [c. 17. p. 321.]

with, and in a certain sense superior to Him; but in a very much more sublime generation, even that whereby He was the Son of God, not only before [His birth of the Virgin] Mary, but before Adam himself, and so before all worlds. At any rate, if one looks at the origin of each, in no respect does the second Adam excel the first, except in this one point of difference, and that the greatest possible—that the one was a mere man (*ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος*), and the other was God and man (*Θεάνθρωπος*). Whatever was added to the human nature of the second Adam, whereby He was superior to the first, was to be attributed wholly to that union whereby the soul of Christ was conjoined with the Word or Divine Person of the only-begotten Son of God, in “a perfect and most intimate association” (*ἄκρα καὶ ἀνυπερβλήτῳ κοινωνίᾳ*, as Origen expresses the hypostatical union¹). It is in this way (I would observe in passing) that the holy Apostle makes a comparison between the first and the second Adam, in 1 Cor. xv. 47; “The first man is of the earth, earthy; the second Man is the Lord from heaven” (*ὁ Κύριος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ*). Utterly mistaken are they who maintain that the *ἐξ οὐρανοῦ* (“from heaven”) is predicated of the second Adam, from His having been conceived and born of the Virgin Mary without a father, by power altogether divine and heavenly; for on this ground the first man also, as we have already seen, would have been from heaven. What the meaning of the words “to be from heaven” is, as opposed to the words “to be of the earth earthy,” is clear enough from the words of St. John the Baptist, who compares himself in a similar manner, as a son of Adam, with Christ our Lord, John iii. 31; “He that cometh from above is above all; he that is of the earth is earthy, and speaketh of the earth; He that cometh from heaven is above all.” With which by all means compare chap. i. 30. Besides which, I have no doubt at all but that *ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ Κύριος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ* (“the Man, the Lord from heaven”) is the same as He whom the Cabalistic Jews call *האדם העליון יתברך* (“the Man that is above, the Blessed”); a periphrasis which the Hebrews employ to designate none but the true God. For, no doubt, what the Cabalists taught touching the espousals of this

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¹ [Contra Cels. vi. 48. p. 670.]

Man that is above, the Blessed, with the בְּרִית, *i.e.* the congregation of Israel, being mystically signified by the union of the earthly Adam and Eve, has been by the Apostle, Eph. v. 32, manifestly applied to the union between Christ and the Church. And the Apostle's words in verse 45 [of 1 Cor. xv.] must be understood of Christ in the same sense; "The first man Adam was made a living soul (εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν); the last Adam was made a quickening Spirit (εἰς πνεῦμα ζωοποιούν)." The first man was made into a living soul; that is, (according to a well-known Hebrew idiom,) he was a living soul; the last, a quickening Spirit. The meaning of which is, the first Adam was man only; the second, more than man, even "a quickening Spirit," that is, God. The term πνεῦμα, "Spirit," in Christ, as we have often observed, denotes in the Scriptures throughout, as also in the writers of the first century, the divine nature in Him; of which also what is here mentioned is a peculiar attribute, *viz.* the quickening of, or giving life to, mankind; in respect of which Christ is elsewhere called ἀρχηγὸς τῆς ζωῆς, "the Prince [or Author] of life," Acts iii. 15; and ζῶν, "Life" itself, John i. 4. He is the Author of our every life, natural, spiritual, and eternal, as Clement of Alexandria beautifully expressed it in his *Protrepticon*^k; "The Word, who in the beginning gave unto us life, when He has moulded us as Creator; manifesting Himself as our Instructor, hath taught us good life, that hereafter, as God, He might bestow upon us eternal life." This interpretation, as it arises necessarily out of the words of the text itself, so does it best agree with the context. The Apostle had said that there is a twofold body, natural and spiritual, which he here shews from their contrary causes. For as we have received these our animal and mortal bodies from the first Adam, a mere man, and consisting of a body, in its own nature at least, animal and mortal; so shall we hereafter receive spiritual bodies from Christ, the second Adam, who is more than man, in whom there is a divine nature, the fountain of all life. Indeed, the transforming of our vile

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^k Λόγος ὁ καὶ τὸ ζῆν ἐν ἀρχῇ μετὰ τοῦ πλάσαι παρασχὼν ὡς δημιουργός, τὸ εὖ ζῆν ἐδίδαξεν ἐπιφανὲς ὡς διδάσκαλος,

ἵνα τὸ αἰεὶ ζῆν ὑστερον ὡς Θεὸς χορηγήσῃ.—[p. 7.]

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bodies into the likeness of His own glorious body, which Christ shall effect in the resurrection, is (Phil. iii. 21) expressly attributed to His almighty power, which cannot belong to Him except as God. And that is a vain interpretation which Grotius has drawn up out of the muddy ditches of the Socinians, viz. that Christ then at last became “a quickening Spirit” (πνεῦμα ζωοποιούν), after He had risen from the dead, and ascended into heaven. For, first, it is plain enough that the Apostle is speaking of the original nature, so to speak, of the first and the second Adam, and not of either such as he became afterwards. Secondly, He who was not always “a quickening Spirit” could never have come to be one. A “made God” must be reckoned among the portentous inventions of the Socinians and the Arians, from which sound reason no less than true religion shrinks back. Lastly, it is certain that Christ, even before His resurrection, was “a quickening Spirit” (πνεῦμα ζωοποιούν); for it was as such that He recalled His own body from death to life, John ii. 19. Whence that observation of Ignatius, the disciple of the Apostles, in his Epistle to the Smyrneans¹, speaking of Christ; “He truly suffered, as also He truly raised Himself up again.” The raising of the body of Christ from the dead is indeed also attributed in the Scriptures to God the Father. But what wonder? Whatsoever the Son does, He does from the Father; and whatsoever the Father does, He does through the Son. Hence the creation of all things is attributed both to the Father and to the Son; inasmuch, that is, as the Father created all things through the Son. But to return to the point from which I digressed a little. So far is the supreme and especial preeminence and excellence of the Sonship of our Lord from consisting in His birth of the Virgin Mary, that this very birth is altogether to be referred to His amazing condescension¹. This is taught us clearly enough, if only we were willing to be instructed by the Holy Ghost, in several passages of the sacred Scriptures; as indeed Episcopius does not deny. Thus has the Catholic Church of Christ always believed even from the very Apostles. Hence Justin, in a passage which we have already^m quoted, says that

¹ συγκατά-
βαιν.

¹ ἀληθῶς ἐπαθεν, ὡς καὶ ἀληθῶς ἀνέ-
στησεν ἐαυτόν.—[§ 2. p. 34.]

^m [Vid. c. ii. 14. p. 46.]

the belief of Christians concerning Christ is that by which they “acknowledge Christ to be the Son of God, who existed before the morning-star and the moon, and endured to be incarnate and born of this Virgin who was of the lineage of David.” So also we have a little beforeⁿ quoted Irenæus as affirming, that all Christians throughout the world, in their rule of faith, professed belief “in the Son of God, through whom God the Father created all things, who out of most eminent love to His own workmanship, underwent birth of the Virgin.” Hence the six most famous bishops of the Council of Antioch, in the Epistle which they addressed to Paul of Samosata, not without the consent of the whole Synod, declare with the utmost confidence that such was the consentient doctrine and faith of the Universal Church. Their words, when they speak of Christ, are as follow^o; “In the whole Church that is under heaven, He is believed to be indeed God, who emptied Himself of His being equal with God; and man, and of the seed of David, according to the flesh.” Hence, lastly, the Church now sings, and, though Socinian and Arian heretics may burst with rage, the Church will ever sing^p;—

Thou art the King of glory, O Christ :
Thou art the everlasting Son of the Father :
When Thou tookest upon Thee to deliver man,
Thou didst not abhor the Virgin’s womb.

And thus far of the first mode, in which Episcopius has observed that Christ, as man, is in the Scriptures called the Son of God.

6. The second mode is, “That Jesus Christ is called the Son of God, on account of that office which was imposed upon Him by the special command of the Father. John x. 35, 36.” I answer, 1st, That Christ cannot on this account be properly called the “begotten” Son of God, much less the “only-begotten.” He, who is in this manner a Son, is a Son only by favour, not by nature. 2dly. That in this way Christ would have many brethren, even all who at any time

CHAP. V.
§ 5, 6.

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ⁿ [P. 76.]
^o ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν
πάσῃ πεπίστευται Θεὸς μὲν κενώσας
ἑαυτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ εἶναι Ἰσὰ Θεῷ, ἄνθρωπος
δὲ, καὶ ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ, τὸ κατὰ
σάρκα.—[Rel. Sac. vol. ii. p. 473.]

^p Tu Rex gloriæ, Christe :
Tu Patris sempiternus es Filius :
Tu, ad liberandum suscepturus
hominem,
Non horruisti Virginis uterum.

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¹ Deus
ipsissimus.

[John x.
25—30.]

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² διακρι-
κώς.

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were anointed by God to be kings or prophets, or were sent with any special mission to the people of God. In this sense of Sonship Christ might have been called the chief, principal, or by far the most excellent Son of God, but certainly not the only-begotten. But, 3dly, if any one will look more narrowly into the passage referred to, it will be clear to him, that Christ did not therein either call Himself the Son of God, or desire to be so regarded, for the especial reason of having been sent to man by God as His ambassador, furnished and provided with an extraordinary authority; but in a far different and much more eminent way, as having existed, I mean, with God the Father, before He was sent into the world, as His true, genuine, and co-essential Son, and so as most truly very God Himself¹. Nor was Episcopus altogether ignorant of this, since he himself, in another part of his writings, drew out an argument from this passage for the divine Sonship of our [Lord] Jesus in opposition to the Socinians. It will, however, perhaps be worth our while, by the way, to demonstrate this very point, somewhat more fully and clearly than has been done by him.

It is manifest, that our Saviour in the preceding verses, viz. from the 25th to the 30th inclusive, had been speaking to the Jews in such a manner, as that they understood and believed Him to assert nothing else than that He was Himself God. In the 33d verse, they say; “For a good work we stone Thee not, but for blasphemy; and because that Thou, being a man, makest Thyself God.” For He had frequently called God by way of distinction² His Father, and just before He had said that Himself and the Father were one. Now it should be carefully observed, that Christ did not give that answer, which, unless He had known Himself to be truly God, He ought certainly to have returned—namely, that He was not really God, and had never at any time professed Himself to be so; (for by this answer, if true, He might easily have appeased the anger of the Jews; while it was also His duty, in the plainest terms and with abhorrence, to repel the charge of blasphemy alleged against Him;) but on the contrary He intimated, and that in no obscure terms, that He was the very Son of God, and consequently God. For He defended Himself against the Jews on two grounds;

first, by an argument taken out of their own law, viz. from Psalm lxxxii. 6; "Jesus answered them, Is it not written in your law, I said, Ye are gods?" Which passage, as Grotius has rightly remarked, is evidently to be understood of the judges of the great Sanhedrim. Now from this passage Christ argues thus in His own defence, verses 35, 36; "If He called them gods, unto whom the word of God came, and the Scripture cannot be broken; do ye say of Me, whom the Father hath sanctified, and sent into the world, that I blaspheme, because I said, I am the Son of God?" This argument, from the less to the greater, plainly runs thus; If they, who have nothing divine in them, even the judges of the great Sanhedrim, to whom the passage in the Psalms refers, (for I agree with Capellus, who was of opinion, that the article of δ λόγος has here a relative¹ force, so as to refer to Psalm lxxxii., which Christ had quoted in verse 34,) are called gods, solely on the ground that they exhibit in themselves an imperfect image of the divine power and authority; how much more may I, who am by nature the Son of God, and am, moreover, authorized in a most eminent manner by God the Father, be called the Son of God, and even God? Christ, however, did not make this very statement in express terms, but yet He intimated it, not obscurely, in the words, "Me, whom the Father hath sanctified and sent into the world." Observe, He does not say, "Me, whom God hath sanctified;" but "Me, whom the Father hath sanctified;" shewing, that His having been sanctified by God (*i. e.* separated and marked out for the work assigned to Him) and sent into the world, was not the primary reason why He regarded God as His Father; but, on the contrary, that God was already His Father, when He sanctified Him and sent Him into the world. Besides, I have no doubt but that Maldonatus was correct, in laying a stress on the words, "and sent into the world," by which is signified, that Christ is the Son of God, not begotten, after the manner of all others, on earth, but in heaven, and sent therefrom into this world. For the Lord thus explains Himself more clearly, when addressing His disciples, John xvi. 28; "I came forth from the Father, and am come into the world; again, I leave the world, and go to the Father." That Christ in these words intimated, that

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¹ ἀναφορικῶν.

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CHURCH.

¹ Iema.

He had existed in heaven in His higher nature with God as His Father, before He first came into this world, in other words, before His birth as man, no one will fail at once to see, unless his sight be dimmed by the humours¹ of Socinianism. Compare John iii. 13. But our Lord proceeds in His own defence, and establishes His divinity, which He has in common with the Father, by another argument, derived from His miracles, verses 37, 38; "If I do not the works of my Father, believe Me not; but if I do, though ye believe not Me, believe the works; that ye may know and believe that the Father is in Me, and I in Him." As if He had said; Because I by way of distinction called Myself the Son of God the Father, and further affirmed that Myself and My Father are one, ye therefore charge Me with blasphemy. And, indeed, this accusation of yours would not perhaps seem to be unjustly urged, if I had established My divinity by words only, and not by deeds also. Since, however, I am performing the very same works of omnipotence as my Father, why do ye not believe that I am of the same nature with Him? I do not ask you to trust My own testimony respecting Myself; but I do ask you to be persuaded at any rate by My works, that the Father is in Me, and I in the Father, in other words, that (as I said before) I and the Father are one.

[112] From this it is clear, that when the Jews fastened on our Lord the charge of blasphemy, for having called Himself by way of distinction the Son of God, and for having, by so doing, intimated not obscurely that He was God, He replied to them in such a manner as that, far from denying this very thing, that He was in such sense the Son of God, He actually established it by the strongest arguments. And this even the Jews themselves very clearly perceived, who, notwithstanding they were dull and stupid enough, do yet convict the Socinians, who wish to be thought the most clear-sighted of men, of the grossest blindness. For they were so far from acquitting Christ from the charge of blasphemy on account of this answer of His, that, on the contrary, they, for that very reason, again attempted to destroy Him as a blasphemer. For in the 39th verse it further says; "Therefore they sought again to take Him: but He escaped out of their hands." By using the particle οὖν, "therefore," the Evangelist intimates,

that the Jews were again irritated by the very words which our Saviour had been speaking in His own defence, and wished to apprehend Him, for the purpose of thrusting Him out of the temple (where He had been holding this discourse, verse 23) and stoning Him to death. For Grotius is entirely wrong, when he interprets these words, as if, in consequence of our Lord having so cleared Himself of the charge of blasphemy, as that not a semblance of it was left, the Jews changed their purpose of stoning Him as a blasphemer, and directed their efforts to apprehend Him and hand Him over to the Sanhedrim, which would find some other accusation against Him. For the Jews did not wish to apprehend Christ for the purpose of bringing Him before the Sanhedrim; but to lead Him away to some place, where they might kill Him without sacrilege. For the temple, within the limits of which the Lord stood and spoke, was in all its parts sacred, and not to be defiled by any slaughter or blood. Compare Acts xxi. 30. Besides, the word *πάλιν*, "again," shews clearly enough, that the wish of the Jews was to do that a second time against Christ, which they were about to do before, that is, to stone Him, verse 31. In which passage also, [*i. e.* in the 31st verse, as well as in the 39th,] the word *πάλιν*, "again," occurs, and plainly indicates some other time besides, when on a similar occasion the Jews wished to destroy Christ by stoning, of which we read in John viii. 59. For there also, from the discourse of Christ, when He declared, verse 58, that He was in being before Abraham, the Jews drew the right conclusion, that Christ had attributed to Himself a certain nature, in which He had existed before Abraham, that is, a divine nature, and so had said that He was God.

7. I proceed to consider the third mode, in which Episcopus observes that Christ, even so far as He is man, is called in Scripture the Son of God; namely, "because He was raised from the dead to life immortal by the Father, and was, as it were, born anew, out of the womb of the earth, without the medium of a mother, Acts xiii. 32, 33." I answer; Christ could not in this way be called the only-begotten Son of God, since in this sense all good men, who rise again, are designated "the children of God, being the children of the resurrection," Luke xx. 36. In respect,

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CHURCH.¹ primo-
genitus.

indeed, of His resurrection, the Man Christ might be called “the first-begotten¹,” that is, [the first-begotten] of the dead; and so He is expressly called, in Col. i. 18^a, because He was the first of all the dead who returned from death unto life, never to die again. Besides this, in those passages of Scripture in which the epithet *μονογενής*, “only-begotten,” occurs as applied to Christ, God the Father is said to have sent His only-begotten Son into the world, and to have given Him to men, John iii. 16; 1 John iv. 9. So that He was already God’s only-begotten Son, when He first came into the world, and not then at length, when, after He had been removed from the world by death, and then was raised again from the dead, He was on the point of passing to another, *i.e.* the heavenly, world. Since, however, in the passage which Episcopius cites, viz. Acts xiii. 32, 33, the Apostle Paul applies the words of David in the second Psalm, “Thou art My Son, this day have I begotten Thee,” to the resurrection of Christ from the dead; it must be observed, in opposition to the modern Artemonites, that this must not be so understood as though Christ, by and after His resurrection, began at last in the most eminent sense to be the Son of God, and to be begotten of Him, but that He was then by the resurrection most powerfully declared and shewn to be the true and only-begotten Son of God. For this is the manner of Scripture, to say that things then come to be, when they are manifested and discover themselves. Accordingly Justin Martyr, as we have elsewhere observed, in his Dialogue with Trypho, after citing the passage of the Psalmist, immediately adds^r; “He says, that His nativity then took place (*γίνεσθαι*) to men, from the period that the knowledge of Him was about to be given to them^s.” Thus indeed does Paul himself interpret himself, in his Epistle to the Romans, i. 3, 4; *Περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, τοῦ γενομένου ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ κατὰ σάρκα· τοῦ ὀρισθέντος υἱοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει, κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιοσύνης, ἐξ ἀναστάσεως*

^a Compare Apocal. i. 5.—GRABE.^r τότε γένεσιν αὐτοῦ λέγων γίνεσθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἐξότου ἢ γνώσει αὐτοῦ ἐμελλε γίνεσθαι. — p. 316. [§ 88. p. 186.]^s [A remarkable passage is adduced by Thirlby from the *Symposium* of Methodius; τὸ δὲ Ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε, ὅτι προύστα ἤδη πρὸ τῶν αἰώνωνἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ἐβουλήθην καὶ τῷ κόσμῳ γενῆσαι, ὃ δὴ ἐστὶ, προσθὲν ἀγνωσούμενον γνωρίσαι.—Orat. viii. p. 112. “This day have I begotten Thee: *i. e.* Thee, who wast already in being in the heavens before the worlds, I have willed to beget also to the world; that is, to make Thee known, who wast before unknown.”—B.]

νεκρῶν. "Concerning His Son [Jesus Christ our Lord], which was made of the seed of David according to the flesh, and declared to be the Son of God, with power, according to the Spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead." Here, says Chrysostom [†], ὀρισθέντος, "declared," is the same as δειχθέντος, ἀποφανθέντος, κριθέντος, ὁμολογηθέντος παρὰ τῆς ἀπάντων γνώμης καὶ ψήφου, i. e. "exhibited, manifested, adjudged, confessed by the opinion and suffrage of all men" [to be the Son of God]. So also the Greek scholia, Ὀρισθέντος, τοῦτ' ἔστιν, ἀποδειχθέντος, ἀποφανθέντος, "declared, that is, demonstrated, manifested." The Syriac translator also renders the word "who was acknowledged;" and the Æthiopic version to the same effect, "whom He" (i. e. God the Father) "declared to be the Son of God." The Latin translator alone (contrary to the evidence¹ of all the Greek MSS.) renders it, "who was predestinated to be the Son of God," as if it had been written in the text, προορισθέντος. But in what sense was Christ declared and demonstrated by the resurrection to be the Son of God? No doubt as the Son of God, coessential with God His Father, and therefore Himself God. For just as κατὰ σάρκα, "according to the flesh," in this passage, denotes the human nature of Christ, so does κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης, "according to the Spirit of holiness," indicate His divine nature: again, as Christ is said to be "of the seed of David," that is, the Son of David, "according to the flesh;" so "according to the Spirit of holiness" is He called the Son of God; we have so often observed, that the word πνεῦμα, "Spirit," applied to Christ, especially when opposed to His flesh, indicates His divine nature, that we need not again remind the reader of it. And it ought not to appear strange, that Christ, considered as the Son of God and God, is here called "the Spirit of holiness," an appellation which we generally apply to the Third Person of the Godhead; inasmuch as the same divine, spiritual, and holy nature is common to each several Person² of the Trinity. Accordingly Hermas also, Paul's contemporary, expressly calls the Divine Person of the Son of God, "the Holy Spirit" (*Spiritus Sanctum*), and Ignatius, who was also of the apostolic age, and a careful imitator of Paul's language, [calls

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¹ *fidem.*

² ὑποστά-
σεα.

[†] [Hom. i. in Rom. vol. ix. p. 432.] ^u [See however Griesbach.—B.]

[116] Him] “an immaculate Spirit” (πνεῦμα ἁμωμον), as we have observed in the Def. Fid. Nic. i. 2. 5. [p. 49.] But Ignatius, as it appears to me, certainly had this passage of the Apostle Paul in view, and gave a sort of paraphrase of it in that well-known place which we have several times quoted in this work, and elsewhere, from his Epistle to the Ephesians^x; “There is one Physician, both fleshly and spiritual, made and not-made (or begotten and not-begotten), having become God incarnate” (ἐν σαρκὶ γενόμενος Θεός), (instead of which Athanasius, Theodoret, and Gelasius read ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ Θεός, “God in man,”) “true life in death, both of Mary and of God.” Here, as in St. Paul, a twofold nature is attributed to Christ, “a fleshly and a spiritual” (σαρκικὴ καὶ πνευματικὴ): according to the fleshly nature, *i. e.* Paul’s κατὰ σάρκα, Christ is called “begotten” or “made,” and “mortal man;” according to His spiritual nature, that is, Paul’s κατὰ πνεῦμα ἀγιωσύνης, He is said to be “not-begotten” or “not-made,” to be “true life” and so God: considered as “fleshly,” He is said to be “of Mary,” *i. e.* of the seed of David; regarded as “spiritual,” He is said to be “of God,” that is, the Son of God. Compare 1 Tim. iii. 16; 1 Peter iii. 18, 19, 20.

8. There remains the fourth and last mode, in which Episcopius holds that Christ as man is designated in Scripture the Son of God, namely, “because Jesus Christ, when raised from the dead, was constituted sole heir in His Father’s house, and in consequence became Lord of all the heavenly possessions and of all His Father’s ministers, that is, the angels; Heb. i. 2.” I answer, that Christ could not, on this ground only, be called the Son of God *properly*, much less His only-begotten Son. For an heir is not necessarily the true and natural, much less the only-begotten son of him whose heir he is; because any relation, or even a stranger, may be adopted and taken as an heir. Besides, our Lord, as has been said a little above, was the only-begotten Son of God when He was first sent into this world by His Father; He was not therefore then at length made the only-begotten Son of God, when He was received back into His Father’s heavenly mansion, and there constituted Heir and Lord of all.

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^x [§ 7. p. 13. See above, chap. i. § 1.]

With respect, however, to the passage [which Episcopus quotes] from the Epistle to the Hebrews i. 1, 2,—Christ is not there called the Son, much less the only-begotten Son of God, because He was appointed heir of all things; but, on the contrary, it is said that He was made heir who was previously a Son—a Son too, by whom God the Father had made the worlds, and who therefore existed before the worlds. The words are these; “God hath in these last days spoken unto us by His Son, whom He hath appointed heir of all things, by whom also He made,” or had made, “the worlds” (δι’ οὗ καὶ τοὺς αἰῶνας ἐποίησεν). The Socinians’ interpretation of this passage is a marvellous device, to the effect, that God is said to have created the worlds [or ages, *sæcula*,] by the Son, inasmuch as by Him He reformed and renewed the human race, and brought it, as it were, into a new state. Surely one might safely swear, that of the Hebrews, to whom this Epistle was written, not one individual could have been found, who would have understood the writer’s words in this sense, or would ever have dreamt, that by τοὺς αἰῶνας, “the worlds,” was signified only the human race, much less that part of it on whom the light of the Gospel then had shone. Οἱ αἰῶνες, “the worlds,” is a Hebraism, meaning the whole of created things; it occurs again in this Epistle to the Hebrews, xi. 3; “Through faith we understand that the worlds (τοὺς αἰῶνας) were framed by the word of God.” And in no other passage, I believe, either in the sacred Scriptures of the New Testament, or in any profane writer among the Greeks, will you find the words τοὺς αἰῶνας in this sense. In the liturgy of the Jews, however, God is throughout called רב העולמים, “Lord of the ages,” or “worlds,” τῶν αἰώνων, that is, “of all created things.” For it has been observed by those, who are acquainted with Hebrew literature, that they make a threefold עולם, “æon,” or world. The first is עולם השפל, “the lower world,” i.e. this region of the elements; the second is עולם התוכון, “the middle world,” that is, the orbs of heaven; the third is עולם העליון, “the upper world,” that is to say, the dwelling-place of the Divine Majesty and of the angels; which the Apostle calls “the third heaven,” 2 Cor. xii. 2. That all these αἰῶνες, therefore, all these *sæcula*, these worlds, were

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created by God the Father through His Son, is what the sacred writer meant to inform us. This he again expressly affirms in the same chapter, verses 10, 11, 12, where he says, that these words of the Psalmist^y were addressed to the Son of God; "Thou, Lord, in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the earth; and the heavens are the works of Thine hands. They shall perish, but Thou remainest: and they all shall wax old, as doth a garment; and as a vesture shalt Thou fold them up, and they shall be changed. But Thou art the same, and Thy years shall not fail." Now what do the heretics make of this again? They keep to their old course. For they say that the passage quoted from the Psalmist was not addressed to the Son of God; and affirm that only that portion of it which refers to an event as yet unaccomplished, but which will be fulfilled in time, namely, the destruction of the world, is applied by the author in the way of accommodation to the Son. Now, (not to mention, that the manifest design of the writer is, to demonstrate the preeminence of the Son of God by those things which did already actually belong to Him; and moreover, that both the creation and the destruction of the world are alike the work of that divine omnipotence, which cannot be communicated to any created being,) what is this, but a shameless contradiction of the sacred writer, as it were to his very face? But then, say they, it is too plain, that these words of the Psalmist were addressed to the most high God, even to God the Father. Be it so; what then? Does it thence follow, that they were not likewise addressed to God the Son? On the contrary, whatsoever was said to God the Father, as the Creator of all things, was also said to the Son of God; inasmuch as God the Father made the universe by the Son, as the author had previously declared. Now although this 102d Psalm appears to be nothing else than a prayer, whether of the people or of the prophet, addressed to God for the restoration of the city of Jerusalem which had been overthrown by the Chaldeans, yet (as most commentators have remarked) just as the earthly Jerusalem was a figure of the Church of Christ, so what is said in the Psalm

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respecting the restoration of the earthly Jerusalem is to be referred, mystically, to the building of the spiritual Jerusalem, which is from above, in other words, of the Church, which is the city and kingdom of Christ. For only in Christ and the Church is there a perfect accomplishment of the following words of this Psalm²; "Thou shalt arise and have mercy upon Zion; for it is time that Thou have mercy upon her, yea, the time is come." And, "The heathen shall fear Thy name, O Lord, and all the kings of the earth Thy glory; when the Lord shall build up Zion, and when His glory shall appear." And, "The Lord hath looked down from heaven upon the earth," &c. Also, "When the people are gathered together, and the kingdoms also, to serve the Lord." Therefore all the rest, which is there said of God, belongs to Christ. Which indeed, even if it were in nowise plain from the context of the Psalm, must yet certainly have been conceded to the authority of an inspired writer. I will add, that even the literal sense of the Psalm, so far, that is, as it relates to the liberation of the people of God from the Babylonian captivity, pertains to Christ, inasmuch as He, as the Word and Son of God always in being with God His Father, has constantly and from the beginning presided and watched over the Church, and so has by His providence regulated and governed all created things. For it must be believed, (as Tertullian suggests, and as the universal Church of Christ agrees in holding,) that, "not merely the creation¹ of the¹ opera. world was wrought by² the Son, but those things also which² per. God has transacted since the creation." Hence, the Apostle [120] Paul also, 1 Cor. x. 9, teaches explicitly enough, that it was Christ, who presided over and went before the children of Israel in the wilderness, after they were led forth from the house of bondage in Egypt, leading them as it were by the hand into the promised land. See by all means what I have advanced at length on this subject, in the Defence of the Nicene Creed, i. 1, almost throughout, but especially §§ 12, 14, 15, 16.

But thus these heretical and troublesome persons still go on to argue: If the author of the Epistle had cited this

² [Verses 13, 15, 16, 19 and 22.]

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κῶς.

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testimony of the Psalmist for the purpose of proving, that the world was created by¹ the Son of God, he would altogether have wandered from his object and design; for what he proposed was, to set forth only that preeminence of the Son, which accrued to Him when now already placed at the right hand of the Majesty of God, verse 4, to preeminence of which kind the creation of the world no way appertains. We, however, on the contrary, from the fact of the author's citing that passage of the Psalmist concerning the creation of all things, and expressly affirming that it was addressed to the Son, regard it as certain, that his purpose was not to set forth that preeminence only of the Son, which then at length accrued to Him after His exaltation to the right hand of God the Father. Besides, in the very beginning of the chapter the author had stated, briefly², three particulars respecting our Saviour, that He is the Son of God, and that in a distinctive sense³, that through Him the worlds were made, and lastly, that He was then appointed or declared to be the heir of all things, when He was in His flesh exalted to the highest heaven, and there set at the right hand of God the Father. That on these several grounds, our Lord very far excels not only the prophets of God, as was before intimated, [see Heb. i. 1,] but the very angels also, the author goes on to shew, by adducing testimonies from Holy Scripture; of which that which we are now considering, most clearly belongs to the second. Therefore the word *γενόμενος*, in verse 4, ought to be rendered "being" [*qui est*]; or explained, with Chrysostom and Theophylact, by "having been shewn" or "declared." Lastly, these sophists object; Why, if the author of the Epistle had really believed and supposed it certain, that all created beings were formed by the Son of God, should he be at so much pains to draw out a comparison between Him and the angels? Could it be a matter of doubt to any one, whether the Creator was more excellent than the creatures? To no one certainly, say I. But yet at the time when this Epistle to the Hebrews was written, there were very many, that is, the Cerinthians and others, who attributed the creation of the world, at least of this visible world, to angels; regarding our Saviour in the meanwhile as a mere creature, and even as nothing more

than a man, who had no existence before [His birth of] Mary, and therefore was far far¹ inferior to the angels. Moreover, those carnal Jews, who had not as yet accepted the doctrine of the Gospel,—the brethren of those to whom the author wrote the Epistle,—believed that Christ, or the Messiah, promised by the prophets, would be nothing more than man; whilst, with respect to the angels, most of their teachers supposed that they had been fellow-workers² with God in the creation of the lower world, and that it was to them that God addressed the words, “Let us make man,” &c. Gen. i. 26^a. In opposition to all these, it was surely no useless labour on the part of the sacred writer, to explain the preeminence and superiority of Christ the Son of God over the angels; in opposition to their tenets he very appositely teaches, that the creation of all things was entirely the work of the most high God, through His Son, who Himself also is God; and that it did not in any degree belong to the angels; inasmuch as they themselves also are creatures, ministering to God the Creator of all things, as he says afterwards in verse 14.

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§ 8.

¹ longe
longius.

² συνεργούς.

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I return at last to the words of the writer, in verse 2. “God hath in these last days spoken unto us by His Son, whom He hath appointed heir of all things, by whom also He made the worlds.” It is certainly clear enough, that the sacred writer in these words meant to show that congruity of the divine economy, whereby provision was made, that the world should in the fulness of time be restored by the same Son, by whom in the beginning it had been created; that He, who had been in the old creation Lord, should also be Heir and Lord in the new. In the same way does the Apostle Paul also manifestly argue in the first chapter of his Epistle to the Colossians; in verses 15, 16, 17, he calls the Son of God, “the first-born of every creature,” (begotten, that is, of God the Father before all created beings,) and declares Him to be the Creator of all things; (for if any one denies that the creation, properly so called, is there referred to, he might with equal boldness deny, that that creation is anywhere described in the Holy Scriptures, and go on to contend that even the first chapter of Genesis must be alle-

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* See P. Fagius *in loc.*, and Philo Six Days; also Justin’s Dialogue with Judæus’ treatise On the Work of the Trypho, p. 285. [§ 62. p. 159.]

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¹ concele-
brat.

gorically explained;) and then, in verse 18, he designates¹ Him as "the head of the body, the Church, and the beginning, the first-born from the dead," (*κεφαλὴν τοῦ σώματος τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ ἀρχὴν, πρωτότοκον ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν*;) then in the same place he immediately adds the following reason, "that in all things He might have the preeminence," (*ἵνα γένηται ἐν πᾶσιν αὐτὸς πρωτεύων*;) in other words, that He might in every way be preeminent above all, as well by reason of the renewal of all things, as of their creation; as being both the beginning of the world, and also the head of the Church.

modos.

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Thus having weighed and examined all the four senses² in which, as Episcopius contends, Christ, as man, is called in the Scriptures, preeminently, the Son of God, we have at length made it manifest, that in none of those senses can Christ be properly called the one only or "only-begotten" Son of God. Moreover, we have shewn, *ex abundanti*, that in those passages of Scripture, where those senses seem to be contained, there is intimated clearly enough a far different and more excellent Sonship of our Saviour, even that whereby He existed with God the Father, as His only Son, before He became man, and even before the creation of all things.

9. I proceed to our third argument, derived from the arrangement and context of the creed itself. It is evident, that the four senses of the Sonship of Jesus Christ, which Episcopius mentions, are all expressed in other places of the Creed, so that they are by no means signified in those words, "the only-begotten Son of God," unless we admit a tautology in so short a formula. The second sense, touching the mission or anointing of our Saviour to His function or office, was implied in the word "Christ," (the Anointed,) immediately before. The other three senses, those, namely, which are derived from His conception by the Holy Ghost, His resurrection from the dead, and, lastly, His exaltation to the right hand of God the Father, are all expressed afterwards in distinct articles. Therefore, when in the creed we confess Jesus Christ to be "the only-begotten Son of God," we certainly intimate that quite another Sonship belongs to Him, such as cannot be referred to any of these senses, even a divine one.

The author of the *Irenicum*^b, indeed, contends with his usual vehemence, that the words of the creed, which follow the clause, "And in Jesus Christ, His only-begotten Son," are merely a description of the Son of God, "added for the purpose of making it appear, what kind of Son of God is here understood; He, that is, who was born of the Virgin Mary, was crucified, died, was raised again, was taken up into heaven, is sitting at the right hand of God, and will come to judge the quick and the dead; all which things indicate a peculiar and only-begotten and proper Son of God." Here, however, the heretic is altogether mistaken. For, 1st, no man in his sober senses will easily believe that in so concise a creed all the clauses, which follow after the confession of the only-begotten Son of God, and relate to Him, were added only by way of explanation, that it might appear what sort of Son of God He is; for they comprise half at least of the creed. 2dly. Most of those subsequent clauses no way refer to the setting forth of the Sonship of Jesus Christ; these, I mean, "He suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and buried; He descended into hell." Therefore, 3dly, we must certainly lay down, that what follows in the creed after the profession of our faith in the only-begotten Son of God, was not added for the mere purpose of a more clear understanding what kind of Son of God that is, in whom we have to believe; but, that it might be shewn further what that Son of God did and suffered for us; in other words, what the dispensation is, which He undertook and endured for our salvation; namely, that He was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, and accordingly¹ being made man, suffered under Pontius Pilate,¹ adeoque. &c. This we learn from Ruffinus, who very well knew the meaning of the Church of Rome in using this creed: in his Exposition of the Creed these words occur^c; "The order proposed in the creed having set forth the ineffable mystery of the Son's nativity of the Father, now descends to His condescension and the dispensation of man's salvation, and now says of Him, whom it had before called the only Son

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^b Iren. p. 70.

^c Posteaquam propositus ordo fidei ineffabile sacramentum Filii de Patre nativitatis exposuit, nunc ad humanæ

salutis dignationem dispensationemque descendit; et hunc, quem supra dixit unicum Filium Dei et Dominum nostrum, nunc dicit, qui natus est de

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¹ ex.

² de.

dignati-
onis.

⁴ sermo-
nem.

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of God and our Lord, that 'He was born of¹ the Virgin Mary by² the Holy Ghost.' This latter nativity among men is that of His dispensation, the former, of His divine substance: the one, of voluntary condescension³; the other, of nature." That this exposition of Ruffinus may be better understood, it should be known, that every discourse⁴ respecting Christ was by the ancient doctors of the Church divided into two parts in all, namely, "the Theology and the Economy [or Dispensation]" (τὴν θεολογίαν καὶ τὴν οἰκονομίαν^d). By "the Theology" they meant, whatsoever pertained to our Saviour's divinity; *i. e.* that He is the Son of God, begotten of God the Father before all worlds, and so is God; and that the worlds were made by Him. "The Dispensation" was the name they gave to His incarnation, and to whatsoever He did here on earth, in the flesh which He assumed, to procure the salvation of the human race. Therefore, in the Creed, called the Apostles' Creed, the words in which we profess our faith in Christ, as the only-begotten Son of God, belong to the Theology; whereas those which follow, relating to His conception by the Holy Ghost, His birth of the Virgin, His passion, &c., must be referred entirely to the Dispensation^e. In this way did the bishops and the doctors of the Catholic Church, from the very time of the Apostles, invariably understand for themselves the rule of faith touching Christ our Lord, and expound it to others. Thus Ignatius, in his genuine Epistle to the Ephesians, says^f; "For our God Jesus Christ was conceived⁵ by Mary according to the dispensation of God, of the seed of David, and of the Holy Ghost: who was born and was baptized," &c. In the judgment of Ignatius, therefore, the conception of the Virgin Mary, nativity, &c., do not pertain to a description of the Son of God, but to that dispensation, which the Son of God, who is also Himself God, undertook for the sake of our salvation. In like manner Justin,

⁵ ἐκνοση-
ρήθη.

Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine.
Hæc jam inter homines dispensationis
nativitas est, illa divine substantiæ;
hæc dignationis est, illa naturæ.—
[§ 8. p. ccv.]

^d See the notes of Valesius, on Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. pp. 4, 5.

^e Compare Galatians iv. 4. with

Ephesians i. 10.

^f ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ἐκνοσηρήθη ὑπὸ Μαρίας κατ' οἰκονομίαν Θεοῦ, ἐκ σπέρματος μὲν Δαβὶδ, πνεύματος δὲ ἁγίου, ὃς ἐγεννήθη καὶ ἐβαπτίσθη, κ.τ.λ.—Edit. Voss. p. 27. [§ 18. pp. 15, 16.]

in the passage from his Dialogue with Trypho, which we have already, on another occasion, quoted once or twice, describes the faith concerning Christ, which is required for salvation of all who live under the Gospel, as that whereby they acknowledge " Christ, as the Son of God, who existed before the morning star and the moon, and being incarnate endured to be born of¹ the Virgin, that by this *dispensation* the serpent, which from the first was an evil-doer, and the angels which were like him, might be destroyed," &c. Here also His nativity of the Virgin is expressly referred to the dispensation, which the Son of God, who existed before the worlds, undertook for our sakes. Irenæus in like manner, book i. 2, in giving the rule of faith as it was received through all the Churches, (of which we have already^h recited the greatest part,) after the profession of faith in the Only-begotten Son of God, that is, after the Theology, immediately adds, that the Holy Ghost by the prophets had foretold " the dispensations, and the advents, and the nativity of the Virgin, and the passion, and the resurrection from the dead, and the receiving up in the flesh² into heaven of our beloved Lord Jesus Christ." Here the articles of the Creed respecting our Saviour's coming into this world, that is, respecting His nativity of the Virgin, His passion, and whatsoever else He did here on earth until His ascension into heaven, are expressly referred by him to " the dispensations," which the only-begotten Son of God sustained for our salvation. The same [writer], in book iv. 62ⁱ, beautifully describes the faith of the spiritual man, *i. e.* of the really Catholic Christian, respecting the most holy Trinity, in the following words; " To him all things are consistent and sure³: he has a faith perfectly sound in one God Almighty, of whom⁴ are all things; a firm persuasion in the Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom⁵ are all things, and in " His dispensations," whereby the Son of God was made man; likewise in the

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¹ *did.*

² *ἐνσαρκον ἀνάληψιν.*

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³ *συνέστηκεν.*

⁴ *κεν.*

⁵ *ἐξ οὗ.*

⁶ *δι' οὗ.*

^g P. 264. [§ 45. p. 141.] See above, ii. 14. [p. 46.]

^h τὰς οἰκονομίας, καὶ τὰς ἐλεύσεις, καὶ τὴν ἐκ παρθένου γέννησιν, καὶ τὸ πάθος, καὶ τὴν ἔγερσιν ἐκ νεκρῶν, καὶ τὴν ἑνσαρκον εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἀνάληψιν τοῦ ἡγαπημένου Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν. — [c. 10. p. 48, quoted above,

book] iv. 5. [p. 72.]

ⁱ πάντα αὐτῷ συνέστηκεν· εἰς ἓνα Θεὸν παντοκράτορα, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα, πίστις ὁλόκληρος· καὶ εἰς τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα, καὶ τὰς οἰκονομίας αὐτοῦ, δι' ὧν ἄνθρωπος ἐγένετο ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, πεισμονῇ βεβαία· καὶ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ

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¹ τὸ σκηνο-
βατοῦν.

² per.

Spirit of God, who sets forth¹ amongst men in every generation, the dispensations both of the Father and the Son, as the Father wills." Here again the holy man shews, that in the Church's rule of faith there is contained a twofold knowledge and belief of Christians concerning Christ; one which respects His divine Person, whereby, that is, they acknowledge that He is the Son of God, by² whom all things were made; the other relating to His dispensations, by which they confess, that that Son of God was made man, &c. Now which of these two expositions of the Creed is to be preferred,—that of these apostolic men and martyrs, (with whom agree all the subsequent Catholic fathers, without a single exception,) or that of the author of the *Irenicum*, a dogmatist of yesterday,—it will not be difficult to determine.

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³ proprie.

10. There remains our fourth and last argument, which we are to derive from the sense and meaning of the primitive Church. In the first three centuries, (for no one doubts about the following ages,) the title of "the only-begotten," or "only" Son of God, as applied to Christ, is by the unvarying and continuous usage of all the Catholic doctors, plainly determined to have this sense, viz. to signify His divine generation of God the Father Himself before all worlds. The statement of Tertullian^k, respecting the Son of God, is the consenting voice of them all; "He is the first-begotten, as begotten before all things; and the only-begotten, as alone begotten of God, in a way peculiar to Himself³, out of the womb of His heart." For they all acknowledged no other only-begotten Son of God, than Him who was begotten of the very essence of God the Father, that is, the Logos and Word [begotten] of His eternal mind; this point we have most fully demonstrated in our Defence of the Nicene Creed, Book ii. throughout. Indeed, so certain and manifest is this unanimity, that Petavius, in speaking of those Ante-nicene writers, who appear to have denied the eternity of the only-begotten Son of God, (but only appear to have done so, as we have clearly

Θεοῦ, τὸ τὰς οἰκονομίας Πατρός τε καὶ υἱοῦ σκηνοβατοῦν καθ' ἑκάστην γενεάν ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, καθὼς βούλεται ὁ Πατήρ.—[c. 33, 7. p. 272.]

^k Primogenitus, ut ante omnia genitus; et unigenitus, ut solus ex Deo genitus, proprie de vulva cordis ipsius.—Against Praxeas, c. 7. [p. 503.]

shewn in the work just mentioned¹), whilst in other respects he is a severe censor of them, is obliged to allow^m, that “they asserted the Son to be of the substance, or nature, of the Father.” What then do we want more? Is not that peculiar mode of the Sonship of Jesus Christ, of which Episcopius speaks, expressed plainly enough by the Roman Church in this creed, by the use of those words, whereby (as has been allowed on all hands¹) that mode [of Sonship] was signified, in that age and in that same Church? What matters it, if any heretic of yesterday contends that the words are capable of another explanation? The creeds of the Church must surely be explained by the sense of the Church itself, and not by the inventions of heretics. If this latter course were to prevail, eternal God²! how soon would it come to pass, that not one of all the articles of our faith would be left sound and entire! He holds not the Church's creeds, who understands them otherwise than the Church does. For it has been well remarked on this subject by the author of a work, On Right Profession³, ascribed to Justin, at the very beginningⁿ; “It is not merely the ascribing of glory to the Father and the Son, which procures salvation for us, but the sound confession of the Trinity affords the enjoyment of those good things, which are laid up for the godly; since one shall hear even the heterodox hymning the Father and the Son, but not offering them worship according to a right understanding.” Cyprian also speaks to this point, [in writing] to Jubaianus, touching the baptism of heretics^o, on those words of Christ, “Go and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost;” “He intimates the Trinity, in the mystery of which⁴ the nations were to be baptized. But does Marcion⁵ hold this Trinity? Does he acknowledge the same Father, the Creator, as we do? Does he know the same Son, Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, who is the Word made flesh? &c. Far different

CHAP. V.
§ 9, 10.

¹ apud
omnes in
confesso
fuit.

² Immorta-
lem Deum!

³ De Recta
Confes-
sione.

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⁴ ejus sa-
cramento
gentes
baptiza-
rentur.

⁵ Numquid
Marcion.

¹ Def. Fid. Nic. book iii.

^m De Trinitate, i. 5. 7.

ⁿ οὐ γὰρ ἀπλῶς ἡ πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν δοξολογία τὴν σωτηρίαν ἡμῖν πορίζει, ἀλλ' ἡ ὑγιὲς τῆς τριάδος ὁμολογία τῶν ἀποκειμένων τοῖς εὐσεβέ-
σιν ἀγαθῶν τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν δωρεῖται·
ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ἑτεροφρόνων ἀκούσεται τις
τὸν Πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἀνυμνοῦντων,

ἀλλ' οὐ κατ' ὀρθὴν ἔννοιαν τὸ τέλος
προσαγόντων.—[p. 420.]

^o Insinuat Trinitatem, ejus sacra-
mento gentes baptizarentur. Num-
quid hanc Trinitatem Marcion tenet?
numquid eundem asserit, quem et
nos, Patrem Creatorem? numquid
eundem novit Filium Christum, de
Maria Virgine natum, qui Sermo caro

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is the faith [not only] of Marcion, but also of all other heretics; indeed there is nothing among them but faithlessness and blasphemy and contention, the enemy of holiness and truth."

¹ redarguamus.

In like manner let us also refute¹ Episcopus and others, who would have us regard the Arians and the Socinians as brothers, because, forsooth, they receive the common creed of the Church, and profess with ourselves faith in Christ, as

² Numquid.

the only-begotten Son of God. For do they² believe in the same only-begotten Son of God, in whom both we Catholics believe at the present day, and the Catholic Church in all preceding ages has believed? Far different surely is their

³ perfidia.

faith; nay, among them there is nothing but faithlessness³. The Church believes, and always has believed, in the only-begotten Son of God, as having been begotten of God the

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Father Himself before all worlds, and so Himself God; in which sense neither of these heresies sincerely acknowledges the Son of God. For, according to the Arians, (if you strip

⁴ mangonium.

their dogma of its specious disguise⁴), the only-begotten Son of God is in reality a creature made out of nothing, although more excellent than all other creatures and produced before them. In the view of the Socinians He is a mere man, who existed not before His birth of the Virgin. Both, therefore, whilst, as far as words go, they profess the creed of the Church, respecting the only-begotten Son of God, do yet hold and cherish in their heart what is altogether heretical and blasphemous. Moreover, from what we have stated so much at length concerning the Apostles' Creed, we may plainly see the emptiness and folly, or rather the extreme shamelessness, of the Racovian Catechist, when he boasts, that, touching the person of Christ^p, he and his party "believe only this, that He is by nature true man, such as He is witnessed to be in the confession of faith which is commonly called the Apostles' Creed, and which all Christians embrace along with themselves."

factus sit? &c. Longe alia est apud Marcionem, sed et apud cæteros hæreticos fides; imo nihil est apud ipsos nisi perfidia et blasphemia et conten-

tio, sanctitatis et veritatis inimica."
—[p. 131.]

^p Cat. Rac. de Cognit. Christi, c. 1.

1. WE are come at length to our fourth and last proposition, which is as follows ;

In the creed or rule of faith, which was in use, in the most ancient Churches of the East, before the Council of Nice, that special mode of the Sonship of Jesus Christ, by which, that is, He was in being in His higher nature before all worlds, begotten of God the Father Himself, and therefore God, was stated and declared in express terms.

2. It cannot be doubted that the Eastern Churches had [131] their own creed, or rather creeds, before the Nicene Council ; creeds, I mean, more full and explicit than that first and most ancient one which Episcopus mentions, containing only the words, "I believe in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost." For that the Roman and the other Churches of the West had a creed of their own, previous to the Council of Nice, larger than that simple confession of the Trinity, is clear enough, not only from Ruffinus and Augustine, but also from Tertullian and Cyprian, who wrote in the third century. With respect, indeed, to the Church of Rome, which the other Churches of the West generally followed, the testimony of Vigilius is express, as Vossius has cited it from his fourth book concerning Eutyches, where he thus writes^a; "The whole body of believers profess that they believe in God the Father Almighty, and in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord. At this article¹ he cavils on this¹ capitulo. account: Why said it not, 'In one God the Father, and in one Jesus Christ His Son,' according to the decree of the Council of Nice? But at Rome, even before the assem-

^a Fidelium universitas profitetur credere se in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, et in Jesum Christum Filium ejus unicum, Dominum nostrum. Huic

capitulo ob id iste calumniatur: Cur non dixerit, *in unum Deum Patrem et in unum Jesum Christum Filium ejus*, juxta Nicæni decretum concilii?

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¹ ita.

² nec præjudicantur.

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³ latiore.

⁴ in sacro
lavacro.

⁵ par fuerit
ratio.

bling of the Nicene Synod, from the time of the Apostles until now, and in the time of Cœlestine too of blessed memory, to whom he bore witness as [being] of a right faith, the creed is delivered to the faithful in those terms¹; and words are not objected to², when the sense remains unimpaired." Now, if the Roman and the Western Churches had such a creed before the Council of Nice, why not the Eastern Churches equally? Nay, to these Churches a creed of that kind was much more necessary than to the Church of Rome, for the reason which I have already adduced from Ruffinus; inasmuch, that is, as in the first ages they were miserably harassed by heretics, who gave no trouble to the Church of Rome. Moreover, Greek writers, before the

Nicene Council, constantly in their writings mention τὸν κανόνα τῆς πίστεως ("the canon or rule of faith"). Indeed, Irenæus, who was an Asiatic, and undoubtedly must be classed among Greek writers, gives that rule at length in book i. chap. 2, as has been shewn above, [page 72.] Eusebius of Cæsarea likewise, at the Council of Nice, before the fathers had framed their creed, recited a fuller³ confession of faith, which he had been taught when yet a catechumen, and had professed in holy baptism⁴, as he testifies himself in his Epistle to the people of Cæsarea, in Socrates, Eccl. Hist. i. 8.

3. Further, we must certainly hold that the Churches of the East did not by any means throw aside their own ancient creeds after the publication of the Nicene Creed. For we see that the Church of Rome, after the Council of Nice, still retained its ancient creed. And who can doubt that the Eastern Churches did the same? Undoubtedly, the decrees of the Nicene Council, as being ecumenical, pertained equally to all Churches of Christ; so that in this particular the case of the Eastern Church and the Churches of the West was the same⁵. But the Nicene fathers, as I think, never intended either to construct a new creed simply, or to transmit the ancient creed of the East entire with some addition of their own; but only to assert, in opposition to the Arians, that

Sed Romæ, et antequam Nicæna synodus conveniret, a temporibus apostolorum usque ad nunc, et sub beatæ memoriæ Cœlestino, cui iste rectæ fidei testimonium reddidit, ita fidei-

bus symbolum traditur; nec præjudicantur verba, ubi sensus incolumis permanet.—[Vigil. Taps. cont. Eut. lib. iv. c. 1. p. 34.]

sense of the article of the ancient creed respecting the Son of God which was the true sense, and received in the Church from the very beginning. They do, indeed, prefix to their own confession respecting the Son of God the article of the ancient creed respecting God the Father, (although not entire,) and they add to it something concerning faith in the Holy Ghost. But this they did, because they thought that the faith respecting the Son of God could not have been set forth suitably or becomingly without a profession of faith in God the Father also, and in the Holy Ghost. Accordingly, after merely mentioning the Holy Ghost, they immediately return to the article of the Son, on the assertion of which [133] they were mainly¹ intent, denouncing an anathema on those¹ ^{impr-} ^{mis.} who denied His very and eternal Godhead; "As for those who say, There was a time when He was not," &c. (τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας, ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν, κ.λ.) But after these words of the Nicene Creed, "And in the Holy Ghost," much is omitted, which was contained in the rule of faith received in the primitive Churches throughout the East, as I shall shew hereafter by the strongest arguments. Meanwhile, this is certain, that the Nicene fathers did not by any means intend that their creed should obtain thenceforth in the administration of baptism, (for even the very anathema² with² ^{ἀναθεμα-} ^{τισμός.} which it concludes is altogether inconsistent with that object,) but left to the several Churches their own former creeds for that use. At any rate, if that had been the intention of the holy Synod, the Roman and the Western Churches, whose bishops formed an important part of it, either did not understand its view, or despised its authority; which no man of sound mind could imagine. For Ruffinus, in the Preface to his Exposition of the Aquileian Creed, testifies expressly that in his own age^b, "the ancient custom was preserved at Rome, that such as were about to receive the grace of baptism repeated³ in public, that is, in the³ ^{redde-} ^{rent.} audience of the faithful, the creed," the ancient Roman creed, of which he had been speaking in the preceding context. And afterwards he says, that he had himself "received" the ancient creed of the Church of Aquileia,

^b Mos inibi servatur antiquus eos qui gratiam baptismi susceperunt sunt, pub-

lice, id est, fidelium populo audiente, symbolum redderent.—[p. 170.]

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(which in some points was different from that of Rome,) “by the grace of baptism” (*per baptismi gratiam suscepisse*); in other words, he had professed the belief in that creed when he came to be baptized.

[134] 4. Having made these prefatory remarks, I proceed to the proof of our proposition. Of all Churches the most ancient were the Churches of Palestine; and among these the Church of Jerusalem was the first and oldest, inasmuch as from it the doctrine of the Gospel first emanated, and thence was derived and propagated to other regions of the world; hence it is called “the mother of all the Churches” (ἡ μητὴρ ἀπάσων τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν) by the Fathers of Constantinople, in their Synodical Epistle, as given in Theodoret’s Eccl. Hist. v. 9. And although this Church, from the first institution of metropolitans, apparently, almost down to the Council of Chalcedon, was subject to Cæsarea as the metropolitan see, yet was it always held in great esteem by all other Churches, for the reason which I have mentioned. Now what the character of the ancient creed of this Church of Jerusalem was, and what it delivered to be believed respecting the Person of our Lord Jesus Christ, cannot be ascertained from any one more certainly than from Cyril, who was appointed Bishop of this Church about the year of Christ 350. While he was yet a catechist, he expounded the creed of the Church of Jerusalem by portions to the candidates for baptism¹ in the sixth and following of his Catechetical Lectures. The portions put together make up the following confession of faith^c:—

¹ comp-
tentibus.

“I believe in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible: and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father before all worlds, very God, by whom

^c πιστεύω εἰς ἓνα Θεὸν Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, ὁρατῶν τε πάντων καὶ ἀοράτων· καὶ εἰς ἓνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεννηθέντα πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων, Θεὸν ἀληθινόν, δι’ οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο· σαρκωθέντα καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα ἐκ παρθένου καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου, σταυρωθέντα καὶ ταφέντα· καὶ ἀναστάντα ἐκ νεκρῶν

τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, καὶ καθίσαντα ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Πατρὸς· καὶ ἐρχόμενον ἐν δόξῃ κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς, οὗ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος· καὶ εἰς ἓν ἅγιον πνεῦμα τὸν παράκλητον, τὸ λαλήσαν ἐν τοῖς προφήταις· εἰς ἓν βάπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν· καὶ εἰς μίαν ἀγίαν καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν· καὶ εἰς σὰρκὸς ὕψστασιν· καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

all things were made: [who was] incarnate^d and made man of the Virgin and the Holy Ghost; was crucified and buried; and rose again from the dead the third day, and ascended into heaven, and sat on the right hand of the Father: and cometh in glory to judge the quick and the dead, of whose kingdom there shall be no end: and in one Holy Ghost the Comforter, who spake by the prophets: in one Baptism of repentance for the remission of sins: and in one holy Catholic Church: and in the Resurrection of the flesh: and in the Life everlasting.”

5. It is plain that this creed is not the Nicene Creed itself, [135] and that it also wants the additional clauses of the Constantinopolitan Creed concerning the Holy Ghost. This latter circumstance cannot appear strange to any one, who remembers, that Cyril's Catechetical Lectures, in which this creed is recited, were written many years before the Council of Constantinople was held, (for it was not convened till A.D. 381.) It follows therefore, that this is really the ancient creed of the Church of Jerusalem. This is rendered quite clear even by the circumstance, that Cyril formally¹ expounds it to the *competentes* or candidates for baptism; but, in the administration of baptism, as has been already shewn, the Eastern as well as the Western Churches retained their own ancient creeds, even after the Council of Nice. Now, in this creed, every one must see that the divine generation of the Son from² God the Father before all worlds is declared in the² most express terms, in the words; “The only-begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father before all worlds, very God, by whom all things were made.” And I have no doubt that it was to this creed of Jerusalem that Eusebius (as being a native of Palestine, and Bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine) referred, when at the Council of Nice, in describing the confession of faith which he had received both in catechising and at holy baptism, he thus states the article respecting the Son of God^e; “And in one Lord Jesus Christ, God of God, the only-begotten Son, begotten of God the Father before all worlds, by whom also all things were made.” For here we have

¹ ex professo.

² ex.

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^d [σαρκωθέντα. Or, ἐν σαρκὶ παραγενόμενον, “who is come in the flesh.” See Cat. xii. 13.—B.]

^e καὶ εἰς ἓνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν,

Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ, υἱὸν μονογενῆ, πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ Πατρὸς γεγεννημένον, δι’ οὗ καὶ ἐγένετο τὰ πάντα. — [Socrates, E. H. i. 8.]

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CHURCH.¹ homo
catus.² a scipso
Deus.³ reposue-
runt.

the very actual words of the creed of Jerusalem, except that, instead of "very God" (*ἀληθινὸν Θεὸν*), Eusebius substituted "God of God" (*Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ*). For with his usual caution¹, he thought that here, as almost everywhere else, he ought to meet the Sabellians, by so asserting the true Divinity of the Son, as at the same time to preserve unimpaired to God the Father that special prerogative, whereby He is Himself alone *αὐτόθεος*, that is, God of Himself², and by means of this prerogative, to distinguish the Father from the Son. And in this the fathers at Nice themselves agreed, and accordingly in their Confession concerning the Son of God inserted³ these very words, "God of God" (*Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ*) ; only adding, according to the ancient creed, "very God of very God" (*Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ*) : and further unfolding the same [truth] more fully, when they afterwards call the Son of God, "of one substance with the Father" (*ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ*), that is, not of any created or mutable essence, but of the very same truly divine and unchangeable nature as God the Father ; which was also always the opinion of Eusebius⁴.

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6. There are, it is true, some learned men who contend that these Catechetical Lectures are not the work of Cyril, but of one John, who was either the predecessor or the successor of Cyril in the see of Jerusalem. But if this were allowed to be true, it would not make much against us. For whether it were Cyril, or a John of Jerusalem, who wrote the Catechetical Lectures, it is still certain, that the creed set forth in them was really the creed which used to be expounded to the candidates for baptism in the Church of Jerusalem, and which accordingly was anciently received in that Church. That these Lectures, however, are really Cyril's, has been proved plainly enough against these hypercritical censors by Vossius, in his treatise *On the three Creeds*, Dissertation i. Thesis 51 §. At all events, Jerome, the contemporary of Cyril, expressly attributes these Catechetical Lectures to Cyril, and states in his *Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers* that they were written by him while he was yet a young

¹ [See my Defence of the Nicene Creed, iv. l. 10. [p. 569.]

² De Tribus Symbolis. [See the

Second Dissertation in the Preface to the edition of 1720, p. xciii. &c.—B.]

man; and Theodoret, not to mention other later authorities, quotes a passage from them as Cyril's. Vossius, however, himself in the same place says, "There is a consideration, which may seem calculated to create a doubt, but which has not been touched upon by others; namely, the fact that we find in this creed certain words, which seem to have been derived from the Creed of Constantinople; as those which follow the clause, 'and in the Holy Ghost;' that is, 'the Comforter, who spake by the prophets; in one baptism of repentance for the remission of sins,' " &c. The learned author, as it seems, supposed that these additional clauses were not a part of the creed of the East before the Council of Constantinople; led to this view (as he informs us himself) by the fact, that the Nicene fathers end their creed with the words, "and in the Holy Ghost." But how utterly without force this reasoning is, (although indeed the great Erasmus was the author of it,) is sufficiently clear from what we have already said at the commencement of this chapter; and what remains to be said will make it still clearer. Meanwhile, I shall prove by the strongest arguments, that the words in the Creed of Jerusalem which follow the clause, "and in the Holy Ghost," were not taken from the Creed of Constantinople, but were contained in the most ancient creeds of the East, long before the Council of Constantinople, and even before that of Nice.

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7. (1.) It is certain that the creeds which the Churches of the West used before the Council of Constantinople and even before that of Nice, did not end with the words, "and in the Holy Ghost," but that there were in them other articles of faith subjoined. Now who that considers what we have before observed respecting the Eastern origin of almost all heresiæ, would readily suppose that the Western creeds were more full than those of the East? And that there were some heads of Christian doctrine subjoined to the article on the Holy Ghost in the ancient creeds of the Western Churches, is easy of proof. For Cyprian, in his Epistle to Magnus, has these words respecting the creed into which the Novatians of his time, agreeing herein with the Catholics, baptized^h; "When they say, Dost thou believe the remission of sins, and the life

^h Cum dicunt, Credis remissionem sanctam ecclesiam? mentiuntur in peccatorum et vitam æternam per interrogatione, quando non habeant

¹ bapti-
zando.[139]
50² tinguere-
ret.

everlasting by the holy Church? they lie in their question, for they have not the Church.” Here you have three articles expressed in the ancient African Creed, viz. of the Church, of Remission of sins, and of the Life everlasting. Moreover, Tertullian expressly places the article concerning the Church in that confession of faith which was necessary to be made by every candidate for baptism¹: see his treatise On Baptism, chap. 6ⁱ; “But since both the attesting of faith and the promise of salvation is pledged under three,” (that is, under the three Divine Persons, God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost,) “there is besides mention necessarily made of the Church.” To the same effect is that which Tertullian also says, in chap. 11 of the same treatise, about Christ not baptizing in His own person^k; “For unto whom should He baptize²? Unto repentance? To what purpose then had He a forerunner? Unto remission of sins? which He gave by a word! Unto Himself? whom in humility He hid! Unto the Holy Ghost? who had not as yet descended from the Father! Unto the Church? which the Apostles had not as yet set up!” Here the article of the remission of sins is also indicated; which I notice on account of Erasmus, who thought that that article was added in opposition to Novatus^l. In the time of Tertullian, however, Novatus had not yet appeared; since he was contemporary with Novatian, and assisted him in the propagation of his schism, and consequently did not disturb the Church until the age of Cyprian; whence it happened, that by some persons, especially by Greeks, Novatus and Novatian were taken to be the same heresiarch^m; though Cyprian attests the contrary, for at the beginning of his eighth Epistle to Cornelius he writes thus about themⁿ; “You have acted with diligence and affection, dearest brother, in speedily despatching to us Nicephorus the acolyte, both to

ecclesiam.—Lib. i. Ep. 6. [Ep. lxxvi. p. 154.] See also lib. i. Ep. 12. ed. Erasmi. [Ep. lxx. p. 125.]

ⁱ Cum autem sub tribus et testatio fidei et sponsio salutis pignerentur, necessario adjicitur *ecclesie* mentio. —[p. 226.]

^k In quem enim tingeret? in poenitentiam? quo ergo illi præcursorem? in peccatorum remissionem, quam verbo dabat? in semetipsum, quem humilitate celabat? in Spiritum S. qui nondum a Patre descenderat?

in *ecclesiam*, quam nondum apostoli struxerant?—[p. 228.]

^l In his Reply to the Censure of the Faculty of Theology at Paris, Tit. xi.

^m See the Notes of Valesius on Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. vi. 45, p. 247, [p. 318. See also Lardner's Dissertation on this point in opposition to Jackson.—B.]

ⁿ Et cum diligentia et dilectione fecisti, frater carissime, festinato ad nos mittendo Nicephorum acolythum qui nobis et de confessoribus regressis

announce to us the glorious and glad tidings of the return of the confessors, and most fully to prepare us against the new and pernicious machinations of Novatian and Novatus to assail the Church of Christ." Besides, the Novatians baptized into the same rule of faith as the Catholics; they also required of their disciples a profession of the article of the remission of sins, as is evident from Cyprian's Epistle to Magnus, which has been quoted above. For neither Novatus nor Novatian denied remission of sins absolutely¹; but both asserted that that remission did not extend to certain most grave² sins, committed after baptism, (such as the sin of those who had polluted themselves by either actually sacrificing or accepting certificates³;) or, at least, that such sins were not to be remitted by the authority of the Church⁴. This, however, by the way; I return to my subject.

CHAP. VI.
§ 7, 8.

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¹ simplici-
ter.

² gravissi-
ma.

³ libello.

⁴ in foro
ecclesiæ.

8. (2.) In the Apostolic Constitutions, vii. 41, there is given a confession of faith, or a creed to be recited by those that are about to be baptized, in which, after a profession of faith "in God the Father unbegotten, and in His only-begotten Son, begotten before the worlds, begotten, not made," the following words occur^p; "I am baptized also into the Holy Ghost, that is, the Comforter, who wrought in all the saints from the beginning of the world; and was afterwards sent to the Apostles also from the Father, according to the promise of our Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, and after the Apostles again to all that believe in^q the holy Catholic Church; into^r the resurrection of the flesh, and into the forgiveness of sins, and into the kingdom of heaven, and into the life of the world to come." Here we have almost all the articles which in the Creed of Jerusalem come after the words, "and in the Holy Ghost;" with this difference, that the author explains the clause, "who spake by the prophets," by, "who wrought in all the saints from the beginning of the world;" and that he transposes the other articles. Only those words

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gloriosam lætitiā nuntiaret, et adversus Novatiani et Novati novas et perniciosas ad impugnandam Christi ecclesiā machinas plenissime instrueret.—[Ep. xlix. p. 63.]

^o See Socrates, Eccl. Hist. i. 10.

^p Βαπτίζομαι καὶ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸν παράκλητον, τὸ ἐνεργήσαν ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἀπ' αἰῶνος

ἀγίοις, ὕστερον δὲ ἀποσταλὲν καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς, κατὰ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ μετὰ τοὺς ἀποστόλους δὲ πᾶσι τοῖς πιστεύουσιν ἐν τῇ ὁρίᾳ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, εἰς σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν, καὶ εἰς ἀφεσὶν ἁμαρτιῶν, καὶ εἰς βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν, καὶ εἰς ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος.—[p. 383.]

are wanting, "and in one baptism of repentance," of which we shall speak by-and-by. Of the Constitutions, however, which are called Apostolical, the very eminent cardinal John Bona gives his opinion, which agrees with that of other very learned men, in the following words¹; "Whatever be the case as to the author of these Constitutions, it is now held by all to be a certain and ascertained fact, that they are more ancient than the Nicene Council^r, and that they contain the discipline by which the Eastern Church was governed previous to Constantine the Great; as the very learned Morinus informs us in part ii. of his work *On Holy Orders*, p. 20. With whom Fronto agrees in his *Notes* prefixed to the *Roman Calendar*, § 5." However, with regard to the creed which is contained in these Constitutions, their author (or rather, their interpolator) gives, in his usual way, a paraphrase of it, from beginning to end. Still, it is manifest that the creed which the author had in view, was neither the Nicene nor the Constantinopolitan, (since it is without the additional clauses of both, of the former against Arius, and of the latter against Macedonius,) and quite agrees with the Confession of Jerusalem.

9. (3.) A third argument may be drawn from the confession of faith which Arius and Euzoius presented to Constantine in the name of themselves and their party, and by which they wished to persuade the emperor, that they believed in every point, "as the whole Catholic Church and the Scriptures teach" (*ὡς πᾶσα καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία, καὶ αἱ γραφαὶ διδάσκουσιν*².) Now, in this confession, after the article on the Holy Ghost, there follows³; "and in¹ the resurrection of the flesh, and in the life of the world to come, and in the kingdom of heaven, and in one holy Catholic Church of God." Here you have, though arranged in a different order, three out of the four articles which are placed after the article on the Holy Ghost in the creed of Jerusalem. And as this confession of faith was written many years before the Council of Constantinople, it was impossible for the heretics to have rehearsed their articles after the pattern of the Creed deli-

¹ *Rerum Liturgic.* i. 8. 4.

² See the Notes on the Defence of the Nic. Creed, ii. 3. 6. [p. 111.] — BOWYER.

³ In Socrates, *Eccel. Hist.* i. 26.

⁴ καὶ εἰς σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν, καὶ εἰς ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος, καὶ εἰς βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν, καὶ εἰς μίαν καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ. — [Ibid.]

vered in that Council. It remains, therefore, that they had in view the ancient creed of the East, in which the same articles occurred. In like manner, in the creed of the Synod of Eastern Bishops, of the Arian party, at Sardica¹, which is contained in the fragments of Hilary, after a profession of faith in God the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost the Comforter², the following words are subjoined³; "We believe also in³ the holy Church, in the remission of sins, in the resurrection of the flesh, in the life everlasting." Where you have also the article on the remission of sins, which was omitted in the former confession.

CHAP. VI.
§ 8—11.

¹ apud
Sardicam.

² Paracletum.
³ in, with
accus.

10. (4.) Fourthly, to these arguments, which are in themselves sufficiently clear, I further add this most evident proof. The clauses in the Creed of Jerusalem, which follow the words, "and in the Holy Ghost," are manifestly directed against certain heresies, which greatly disturbed the Church of Christ, particularly in the East, in the second century; but which were laid to rest at the time of the Council of Constantinople and long before; so that it is absurd to lay down, that those clauses were added at that time to the Eastern creed. The heresies I allude to are those of Simon, Menander, Cerinthus and others, who are usually comprised under the name of Gnostics; which, as Gregory Nazianzen, who flourished at the time of, and previous to, the Council of Constantinople, attests, had now in his time become extinct^v. It remains for me then to prove, that what follows in the Creed of Jerusalem after the mention of the Holy Ghost, was levelled against the wild, or rather monstrous, notions of the Gnostics. If in the explanation of this subject I shall be somewhat prolix, I do not anticipate that that circumstance will be either unprofitable or unpleasant to a reader who is a lover of antiquity⁴.

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11. I shall begin with the words immediately after the clause, τὸ Παράκλητον, τὸ λαλήσαν ἐν τοῖς προφήταις, "the Comforter, who spake by⁵ the prophets." The word "Comforter" (Παράκλητος) in the Scriptures themselves is a well-known designation of the Holy Ghost, and that of very wide signification; inasmuch as it means both Teacher, and Com-

⁴ φιλαρχαίρ.

⁵ per.

^u Credimus et in sanctam ecclesiam, in remissionem peccatorum, in carnis resurrectionem, in vitam æternam. — [S. Hilarii, ex opere Hist.

Fragm. iii. p. 1133.]

^v Orat. xxiii. edit. Par. 1630. [Orat. xxv. 8. p. 459]

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forter, and Advocate. This epithet indeed is not applied at all to the Holy Ghost in the Creed of Constantinople; an omission of which I shall state the reason a little below; but it occurs in the Clementine Creed, and also in the Arian Creed of Sardica, as has been already shewn. It is however quite probable, that this word was added in opposition to the Gnostics. For most of those heretics maintained that the Paraclete and the Holy Ghost were two different Æons. See by all means Tertullian's treatise Against Valentinus, Pamelius' edition, chap. viii. 23^w, compared with chap. xi. 123^x, and the scheme¹ which Pamelius prefixed to that work^y. But, not to insist on this, the following words, viz. "who spake by the prophets," are most manifestly directed against the heresy of the Gnostics. For nearly all of them taught, that the God who was the Creator of this visible world, and was preached by the Law and the Prophets, was different from the God who is manifested in the Gospel; and that the ancient prophets were not inspired by the Holy Ghost, but by a power² proceeding from that God of the world³ (whom some of them did not hesitate openly to call evil;) and that therefore their writings were to be held in no esteem⁴, but to be clean rejected^z. This heresy was no doubt referred to by Ignatius, when in his Epistle to the Philadelphians he thus admonishes them^a; "And we love the prophets; for they too delivered their messages with a view to the gospel" (τοὺς προφήτας δὲ ἀγαπῶμεν, διὰ τὸ καὶ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον κατηγγελλέναι.) Thus the meaning of Ignatius is rightly understood by his interpolator, when to this passage he subjoins the following^b; "The prophets and the apostles received from God through Jesus Christ one and the same Holy Spirit, a good and directing⁵, and a true, teaching, right⁶ Spirit. For the God of the old and the new testament is One; the Mediator between God and men is

¹ schema.

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² a virtute aliqua.

³ a mundano illo Deo.

⁴ susque deque habenda.

⁵ ἡγεμονικόν.

⁶ εὐθεές.

^w [P. 253.]

^x [P. 255.]

^y Compare Irenæus himself in our edition, p. 9, line 28, compared with p. 13, line 13. [i. 1, 2. p. 7.]—GRABE.

^z [The Ebionites likewise, as Methodius testifies, (Sympos. p. 113,) "had erred concerning the Spirit, contentiously saying, that the prophets spake of their own motion"—περὶ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐσφαλμένοι ἦσαν, ἐξ ἰδίας

κινήσεως τοὺς προφήτας λελαληκέναι φιλονεικοῦντες. This, I remark by the way, shews that the Ebionites agreed with the Gnostics.—B.]

^a Page 41, ed. Voss. [§ 5. p. 31.]

^b οἱ προφῆται καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἡγεμονικόν, ἀληθές τε διδασκαλικόν ἔλαβον παρὰ Θεοῦ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, εὐθεές πνεῦμα· εἰς γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς παλαιῶς καὶ καινῆς διαθήκης· εἰς ὁ μεσίτης Θεοῦ καὶ

One; both for the creation of things that are objects of mind and those of sense, and for the proper and suitable providence over them: and the Paraclete also is One, who wrought in Moses, and the prophets, and the apostles." And a little afterwards °; "If any one confesses Christ Jesus to be Lord, but denies the God of the law and of the prophets, alleging that the Maker of heaven and earth is not the Father of Christ, such an one standeth not in the truth, as neither did his father the devil: and such an one is a disciple of Simon Magus, but not of the Holy Ghost." Similar statements you may read throughout Irenæus, Tertullian, and other ancient writers. [145]

12. It was against this blasphemy of the Gnostics, I am most certainly convinced, that the words, "who spake by the prophets," or what was equivalent to them, were inserted even in the earliest creeds of the East. For Irenæus, in book i. chap. 2^d, when stating the rule of faith already received in his own time, has this on the article of the Holy Ghost; "Who by the prophets preached the dispensations of God" (τὸ διὰ τῶν προφητῶν κεκηρυχὸς τὰς οἰκονομίας τοῦ Θεοῦ). In like manner in a summary of the ancient creed quoted in the Greek by Damascene, which Irenæus gives in book iv. chap. 62^e, and which we have above transcribed in full †, the belief in the Holy Ghost is thus stated; "And in the Spirit of God, who sets forth amongst men in every generation the dispensations of the Father and of the Son, as the Father wills." In like manner, Athenagoras, who was somewhat earlier than Irenæus, in his Legation for the Christians, while stating the confession of all Christians respecting the Triune God, thus expresses the Catholic faith concerning the Holy Ghost ‡; "And we say also, that the Holy Ghost Himself, who wrought in them that spake prophetically, is an effluence¹ of God." He had¹ ἀπόρροαν. [146]

ἀνθρώπων, εἰς τε δημιουργίαν νοητῶν καὶ αἰσθητῶν, καὶ πρόνοιαν πρόσφορον καὶ κατάλληλον· εἰς δὲ καὶ ὁ παράκλητος, ὃ ἐνεργήσας ἐν Μωσῇ, καὶ προφήταις, καὶ ἀποστόλοις.—[p. 78.]

° ἐὰν τις ὁμολογῇ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν κύριον, ἀρνήται δὲ τὸν Θεὸν τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν, οὐκ εἶναι λέγων τὸν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς ποιητὴν Πατέρα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ τοιοῦτος ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ οὐχ ἔστηκεν, ὡς καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ὁ διάβο-

λος· καὶ ἔστιν ὁ τοιοῦτος Σίμωνος τοῦ μάγου, ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος μαθητής.—[§ 6. p. 79.]

^d [Chap. x. p. 48.]

^e [Chap. xxxiii. 7. p. 272.]

^f [See above, c. v. § 9. p. 108.]

§ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἐνεργεῖν τοῖς ἐκφωνοῦσι προφητικῶς ἅγιον πνεῦμα, ἀπόρροαν εἶναι φημὲν τοῦ Θεοῦ.—p. 10. [§ 10. p. 287.]

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¹ συνάδει
τῷ λόγῳ.
² augustis-
sima.

said a little before in the same passage ^h; “And the prophetic Spirit also agrees with ¹ what we say.” Before these again, Justin, when expounding likewise the Christian faith respecting the most glorious ² Trinity, to the Roman Emperor, describes the third Person in the same way, Apology ii.ⁱ “But Him, (that is, the Father,) and the Son, who came forth from Him, . . . and the prophetic Spirit, we worship and adore, honouring Them in reason and in truth.” Parallel to this is that which afterwards occurs in the same Apology ^k; “And the prophetic Spirit we in reason honour in the third place.” Again, in the same Apology, he adds, speaking of the prophets of the Old Testament ^l; “Through whom the prophetic Spirit foretold the things that should happen, before they came to pass.” And what follows further in the same Apology, approaches very nearly to the words of the creed of Jerusalem; where, in treating again of the belief and confession of the Holy Trinity, into which the Christians of his time used to be baptized, he expresses what relates to the Third Person in these words ^m; “And in the name of the Holy Ghost, who foretold through the prophets all things pertaining to Jesus, is he who is illuminated ³ washed.” Surely, but little judgment or, at any rate, little candour can be attributed to him, who, after weighing so many and so plain testimonies, can deny that the words, “who spake by the prophets” (τὸ λαλήσαν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν), or words equivalent to them, were contained in the description of the Holy Ghost, in the most ancient creed of the East. I have, indeed, often before now wondered, why the Fathers of Constantinople, after these words about the Holy Ghost, “The Lord, and the Giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father, who with the Father and the Son is worshipped and glorified,” should have added in their creed, “who spake by the prophets.” For to my mind, after such magnificent things attributed to the Holy Spirit, that He is “the Lord,

³ φωτιζόμενος.

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^h συνάδει δὲ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τὸ προφητικὸν πνεῦμα.—[Ibid.]

ⁱ ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνόν τε καὶ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ υἱὸν ἐλθόντα, . . . πνεῦμά τε τὸ προφητικὸν σεβόμεθα καὶ προσκυνούμεν, λόγῳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ τιμῶντες. — p. 56. [Apol. i. 6. p. 47.]

^k Πνεῦμά τε προφητικὸν ἐν τρίτῃ τάξει [ὅτι] μετὰ λόγου τιμῶμεν [ἀπο-

δείξομεν].—p. 60. [§ 13. p. 51.]

^l δι' ὧν τὸ προφητικὸν πνεῦμα προεκήρυξε τὰ γενήσεσθαι μέλλοντα, πρὶν ἢ γενέσθαι.—p. 72. [§ 31. p. 62.]

^m καὶ ἐπ' ὀνόματος πνεύματος ἁγίου, ὃ διὰ τῶν προφητῶν προεκήρυξε τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἰησοῦν πάντα, ὃ φωτιζόμενος λούεται.—p. 94. [§ 61. p. 80.]

and the Giver of life, proceeding from the Father, who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified," this additional clause, "who spake by the prophets," seemed frigid. When, however, I ascertained that the ancient Eastern creed had, "the Comforter, who spake by the prophets" (τὸ Παράκλητον, τὸ λαλήσαν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν), I came to this conclusion, that the holy Synod, instead of "the Comforter," substituted those magnificent clauses, more clearly to express the true divinity of the Holy Ghost in opposition to Macedonius, and then subjoined, "who spake by the prophets" (τὸ λαλήσαν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν), because this followed in the ancient creed. But this by the way.

CHAP. VI.
§ 12, 13.

13. I proceed to the next article, "in one baptism of repentance, unto¹ the remission of sins" (εἰς ἓν βάπτισμα¹ or, "in." μετανοίας, εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν). In the published copies of Cyril's Catechetical Lectures, indeed, these words make two distinct propositions; but they ought certainly to be joined together into one article, as is done in the Creed of Constantinople, in this way; "I acknowledge one baptism unto the remission of sins" (ὁμολογῶ ἓν βάπτισμα εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν); so that baptism be here stated to be the mean of obtaining forgiveness, and forgiveness itself to be the end of baptism. Now that this article too was levelled against the heresy of the Gnostics, I am most thoroughly persuaded. For Irenæus (i. 18ⁿ, near the beginning) states concerning the Valentinians, that they were led by the wiles² of Satan "to a denial of the baptism of our regeneration to God, and to a rejection of the entire faith." They did not, however, all maintain this impious tenet in the same manner. For some of them nullified³ the one only baptism of Christ by their distinction of a twofold baptism; while others rejected all baptism whatsoever, which is performed with any external ceremony. Of the former class of these heretics, Irenæus thus speaks afterwards in the same chapter^o; "For they lay down that the baptism of Jesus, who was visible⁴, was for the remission of sins; whilst the redemption of Christ, who descended on Him⁵, was for perfection: and that the

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² præstigiis.

³ evacuant.

⁴ τοῦ φαινομένου Ἰησοῦ.

⁵ τοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ κατελθόντος.

^a εἰς ἐξάρνησιν τοῦ βαπτίσματος τῆς εἰς Θεὸν ἀναγεννήσεως, καὶ πάσης τῆς πίστεως ἀπόθεσιν.—[chap. 21. p. 93.]

^o τὸ μὲν γὰρ βάπτισμα τοῦ φαινο-

μένου Ἰησοῦ ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτιῶν, τὴν δὲ ἀπολύτρωσιν τοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ Χριστοῦ κατελθόντος, εἰς τελείωσιν καὶ τὸ μὲν ψυχικόν, τὴν δὲ πνευματικὴν εἶναι ὑψ-

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¹ πάνυ
ἐπέλγομαι
εἰς αὐτό.

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² παραιτη-
σάμενοι.
³ or, "sacra-
ment."

⁴ necessi-
tate præ-
cepti.
⁵ necessi-
tate medii.

⁶ τελείωσιν.

former is carnal, the latter spiritual; and that baptism was announced by John unto repentance; but that the redemption was brought in by Jesus unto perfection. And this is that of which He said; 'And I have another baptism to be baptized with, and I by all means hasten unto it.''' Of these Irenæus says further in a subsequent passage of the same chapter, that they celebrated the external baptism of water in a different form and with different rites from those which were in general use in the Catholic Church. Respecting the latter sect of the Valentinians, Irenæus speaks as follows, near the end of the chapter already cited¹; "Others again, repudiating² all this, maintain, that the mystery³ of the ineffable and invisible power ought not to be performed by means of creatures which are visible and corruptible; nor that of things that are inconceivable and incorporeal by means of things perceptible and corporeal: but that perfect redemption is the very knowledge of the ineffable Majesty." Who does not now see, that this article in the creed of Jerusalem, "I believe in one baptism of repentance for the remission of sins," was a most suitable antidote against these impious doctrines of the Gnostics? For by these words the Catholics professed, that they believed, in the first place, that baptism was necessary,—necessary, that is to say, both because commanded⁴, and also as a means⁵, at least ordinarily; secondly, that the baptism of Christ was one only, even that which the Catholic Church observes; lastly, that that one baptism was the baptism of repentance and of remission of sins; and that no one rises to such "perfection⁶" in his life, as not to require remission of sins. It was this article of the ancient Eastern creed, as I quite think, that Irenæus had in view, when, in book i. chap. 2^a, rehearsing the rule of faith, he observes, that in it is delivered as a matter to be believed, that eternal salvation will be given, not only to those who have kept the command-

ίστανται. καὶ τὸ μὲν βάπτισμα ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου κατηγγέλθαι εἰς μετάνοιαν τὴν δὲ ἀπολύτρωσιν ὑπὸ Ἰησοῦ κεκομίσθαι εἰς τελείωσιν. καὶ τοῦτ' εἶναι περὶ οὗ λέγει, καὶ ἄλλο βάπτισμα ἔχω βαπτισθῆναι, καὶ πάνυ ἐπέλγομαι εἰς αὐτό.—[Ibid. p. 94.]

¹ ἄλλοι δὲ ταῦτα πάντα παραιτησά-

μενοι φάσκουσι, μὴ δεῖν τὸ τῆς ἀρρήτου καὶ ἀοράτου δυνάμεως μυστήριον δι' ὁρατῶν καὶ φθαρτῶν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι κτισμάτων, καὶ τῶν ἀνευνοήτων καὶ ἀσωμάτων δι' αἰσθητῶν καὶ σωματικῶν. εἶναι δὲ τελείαν ἀπολύτρωσιν, αὐτὴν τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν τοῦ ἀρρήτου μεγέθους.—[§ 4. p. 96.]

² [Chap. x. pp. 48, 49.]

ments of our Lord from the beginning, but to those also who have done it “through or after repentance” (*ἐκ μετανοίας*), that is, a universal repentance, whereby is effected a passage from the state of sin and death into the state of justification and salvation. See Luke xv. 7.

CHAP. VI.
§ 13, 14.

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14. I now come to the article on the Church, expressed in these words, “and in one holy Catholic Church” (*καὶ εἰς μίαν ἁγίαν καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν*). In this article, however, in the opinion of some, the word Catholic, at least, was added at a later period, in opposition, that is to say, to the Novatians and other schismatical disturbers of the peace of the Church in the third century: which was the opinion of John Gerhard Vossius, as may be seen in his work *On the Three Creeds*, Diss. i. Thesis 39. It is, however, certain (though this great man does not seem to have observed it) that the epithet Catholic was attached to the Church of Christ even in the times that came next after the age of the Apostles. For in the Epistle of the brethren of Smyrna respecting the martyrdom of St. Polycarp there is mention made of the Catholic Church in the very salutation^s; “The Church of God, which dwelleth at Smyrna, to that which dwelleth at Philomelium, and to all the portions¹ in every place of the holy Catholic Church, the mercy, peace, and love of God the Father and of our Lord Jesus Christ be multiplied.” In the same epistle also these Smyrneans relate that Polycarp, when at the point of death, mentioned in his prayers “the whole Catholic Church throughout the world” (*πάσης τῆς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας*). Indeed, before Polycarp, the same epithet had been expressly applied by Ignatius to the Church of God in his Epistle to the Smyrneans^t; *ὅπου ἂν ᾖ Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, ἐκεῖ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία*, that is, “Wherever Jesus Christ is, there is the Catholic Church.” Valesius, therefore, is right in saying^u; “This epithet seems to have been applied to the Church in the first age following that of the Apostles, when the heresies that arose in many

¹ *παροικίας*.

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^r [τοῖς (μὲν) ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς, τοῖς δὲ ἐκ μετανοίας.—Ibid.]

^s ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ παροικοῦσα Σμύρναν, τῇ παροικοῦσῃ ἐν Φιλομηλίῳ, καὶ πάσαις ταῖς κατὰ πάντα τόπον τῆς ἁγίας καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας παροικίαις, ἔλεος, εἰρήνη, καὶ ἀγάπη Θεοῦ Πατρὸς

καὶ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πληθυνθείη.—See Eusebius, *Ecl. Hist.* iv. 15.

^t Page 6, edition of Vossius. [§ 8. p. 36.]

^u In his Note on Eusebius, *Ecl. Hist.* book vii. c. 10. p. 256. [p. 333.]

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places aimed at subverting the true faith of Christ and the tradition of the Apostles. For at that time, with a view of distinguishing the true and genuine Church of Christ from the bastard assemblies of the heretics, the name of *Catholic* was given to the Church of the orthodox alone." It is, however, further to be observed, that the Gnostics, who disseminated their heresies chiefly in the next age after the Apostolic, had nearly all come to such a height of presumption and shamelessness, as habitually to boast¹, that the pure and unadulterated Gospel was taught in their assemblies only; that they alone had discovered and possessed the knowledge of God's mysteries and the true way of obtaining salvation; whence they assumed the name of Gnostics; whilst the doctrine which the Apostles had handed down, and the Catholic Church had received and embraced, was in most particulars² false and spurious³. For concerning these heretics Irenæus, iii. 2, writes as follows^x; "For when they are refuted out of the Scriptures, they turn to accuse the Scriptures themselves, as if they were not right nor of authority; and [allege] that they are capable of different senses⁴, and that the truth cannot be discovered from them by such as are ignorant of their tradition. For that the truth was delivered not in writing⁵, but by word of mouth: for which reason Paul also said, 'Howbeit, we speak wisdom among them that are perfect; yet not the wisdom of this world.' And this wisdom each one of them avers to be that which he has found out of himself; a fiction to wit; so that reasonably⁶, according to their view, truth lies sometimes with Valentinus, sometimes with Marcion, sometimes with Cerinthus, and then again with Basilides. . . . For every one of them, being utterly perverted, feels no shame in preaching up himself while he depraves the rule of truth. But when we challenge

¹ jactitant.

² plerisque.
³ adulterinam.

⁴ varie dictæ.

⁵ literis.

⁶ digne.

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^x Cum ex Scripturis arguuntur, in accusationem convertuntur ipsarum Scripturarum, quasi non recte habeant, neque sint ex auctoritate, et quia varie sint dictæ, et quia non possit ex his inveniri veritas ab his qui nesciant traditionem. Non enim per literas traditam illam, sed per vivam vocem; ob quam causam et Paulum dixisse, *Sapientiam autem loquimur inter perfectos; sapientiam autem non mundi*

hujus. Et hanc sapientiam unusquisque eorum esse dicit, quam a semetipso adinvenit, fictionem videlicet, ut digne secundum eos sit veritas, aliquandoquidem in Valentino, aliquando autem in Marcione, aliquando in Cerintho, postea deinde in Basilide . . . Unusquisque enim ipsorum omnimodo perversus semetipsum, regulam veritatis depravans, prædicare non confunditur. Cum autem ad eam iterum

them again to that tradition which comes from the Apostles, which is guarded in the Churches through the successions of presbyters, they are opposed to tradition, alleging that, being superior in wisdom not only to the presbyters, but even to the Apostles, they have discovered the pure truth; whereas the Apostles mixed up with the words of the Saviour things which pertain to the Law; and not only the Apostles, but even the Lord Himself also, at one time spoke from the Demiurge, at another from the middle power¹, and sometimes again from the highest²; and that they themselves, on the other hand, know the hidden mystery undoubtedly, undeniably, and sincerely; an assertion which is indeed a most impudent blasphemy against their Maker." In opposition to all these impious dogmatisers, all the sons of the Church in that age were most properly obliged to profess belief "in one Catholic Church;" that is, that they willed³ constantly to cleave to that doctrine and faith which was preached with one mouth, as it were, by the Bishops and Presbyters in the Apostolic Churches throughout the world, in agreement with the Holy Scriptures. The meaning of the article can hardly be better expressed than in the words of Irenæus, at the beginning of chap. iv. of the afore-cited book; "We ought not to be still in quest of the truth among others, which it is easy to get from the Church; since the Apostles cast into it most abundantly, as into a rich treasury, all things which appertain to the truth, so that whosoever will, may take from it the water of life. For this is the entrance unto life; whereas all other [teachers] are thieves and robbers; on which account we ought indeed to avoid them;* but what belongs to

¹ a medietate.

² a summitate.

³ voluisse.

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traditionem, quæ est ab apostolis, quæ persuccessiones presbyterorum in ecclesiis custoditur, provocamus eos, adversantur traditioni, dicentes se non solum presbyteris, sed etiam apostolis existentes sapientiores, sinceram invenisse veritatem; apostolos autem admiscuisse ea, quæ sunt legalia, Salvatoris verbis; et non solum apostolos, sed etiam ipsum Dominum, modo quidem a Demiurgo, modo autem a medietate, interdum autem a summitate fecisse sermones; et se vero indubitate et incontaminate et sincere absconditum scire mysterium; quod quidem impu-

dentissime est blasphemare suum Factorem. —[p. 175.]

Non oportet adhuc quærere apud alios veritatem, quam facile est ab ecclesia sumere; cum apostoli, quasi in depositarium dives, plenissime in eam contulerint omnia quæ sint veritatis; uti omnis, quicumque velit,umat ex ea potum vitæ. Hæc est enim vitæ introitus; omnes autem reliqui fures sunt et latrones; propter quod oportet devitare quidem illos; quæ autem sunt ecclesiæ, cum summa diligentia diligere, et apprehendere veritatis traditionem. —[p. 178.]

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¹ diligere;
it ought,
perhaps, to
be read,
deligere,
"to
choose."—
BULL.

the Church we ought with the utmost diligence to love¹, and to embrace the tradition of the truth."

15. The two remaining articles, on "the Resurrection of the flesh," and on "the Life Everlasting," are given in express terms even in the Clementine Creed, in the confession of Arius and Euzoius, in that also of the Arian pseudo-synod of Sardica, which have been already mentioned, and finally in the rule of faith in Irenæus, i. 2. That most of the Gnostics, however, denied the resurrection of the flesh, and, by consequence, the everlasting life of the world to come, is too well known to require a laboured proof. It is of these, no doubt, that Irenæus speaks, v. 2; "But they are utterly vain, who set at nought the whole dispensation of God, and deny the salvation of the flesh, and despise its regeneration, saying that it is not capable of incorruption." He attributes the same heresy to Basilides by name, book i. 23²; and to Marcion, in chap. 29 of the same book^a; with respect to both of whom Tertullian agrees with him, in his treatise On the Prescription against Heresies. Whilst Augustine, in his work On Heresies, attributes the same impious doctrine to Simon Magus, Carpocrates, Valentinus, Apelles, and other heretics of the same character. Now from all this it is at last clear, that what follows the clause, "And in the Holy Ghost," in the Creed of Jerusalem, was certainly not added to the Eastern Creed by the fathers of Constantinople, but had been inserted in that creed long before the Council of Constantinople, and even that of Nice, in opposition to the impious ravings of the Gnostics, who began to put forth their heresies publicly about the beginning of the second century.

16. But, that you may see yet more clearly the antiquity of the whole Creed of Jerusalem, I shall not be unwilling [154] to show briefly that even the preceding articles of the same creed, respecting God the Father and the Son, are so drawn up as most manifestly to be aimed against the blasphemies of the Gnostics. The article on God the Father is expressed in these words; "I believe in one God the Father Almighty,

* Vani autem omnimodo, qui universam dispositionem Dei contemnunt, et carnis salutem negant, et regenerationem ejus spernunt, dicen-

tes non eam capacem esse immortalitatis.—[c. 24. 3. p. 101.]

^a [c. 27. 2. p. 106.]

Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible." The Cerinthians with other Gnostics did not acknowledge one God the Father as the Creator, but asserted that the Demiurge, the Creator and God of this world, was one, and the Father of Christ our Lord was another. The Cerdonites and the Marcionites had the boldness to declare, explicitly, that there were two Gods and two Principles. Indeed, all the Gnostics ascribed the things visible and the things invisible (τὰ ὁρατὰ καὶ τὰ ἀόρατα) to different creators, and denied that this visible world was made by the supreme God. The next clause is, "And in one Lord Jesus Christ." The Cerinthians, as has often been stated by us in this work and elsewhere, denied that Jesus Christ was one, separating Jesus from Christ, and affirming that Christ descended from above into Jesus at His baptism, and at the coming on of ¹ instante. His passion flew back again to His own pleroma. The same Cerinthians taught, as did also the Carpocratians, (and so far the Ebionites, too, agreed with them,) that the Lord Jesus was a mere man, and the son of a man, and had no existence at all before His birth of Mary. And they are glanced at in the next words of the creed, "The only-begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father before all worlds, very God." All the Gnostics, however, denied that God the Father made all things by His Son, and therefore it was added, "by whom all things were made." What follows next, "Incarnate, and made man, crucified, &c.," is manifestly aimed at the Docetæ, who affirmed, that our Lord was born as man, suffered, and died in an imaginary way ²; a heresy which was maintained [155] by almost all the Gnostics. To the article on Christ's ² putative coming to judge the quick and the dead, these words are subjoined, "of whose kingdom there shall be no end" (οὐ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος); words which, although they are not in the Nicene Creed, occur in that of Constantinople; though they have no relation to the Macedonian controversy. They are also to be found in the Clementine Creed; Apostolical Constitutions, vii. 41. That they were not at all an addition of the fathers of Constantinople, but existed in the ancient creed which prevailed in the East long before the Council of Constantinople, or even that of Nice, is ³ istis iso- proved by this argument; that words equivalent to them ³ δύναμα.

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are found in most of the confessions of the Arians preserved in Athanasius^b, where they wished to persuade others that they religiously maintained the ancient rule of the Catholic faith. Thus the Eusebian party, in their Confession, declare^c their belief that Christ “cometh to judge the quick and the dead, and that He continueth a King and God for ever” (*ἐρχόμενον κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς, καὶ διαμένοντα βασιλέα καὶ Θεὸν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας*). In like manner the Confession of Theophrontius, also contained in Athanasius, has these words concerning Christ^d; “And cometh again with glory and power to judge the quick and the dead, and abideth for ever” (*καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενον μετὰ δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς, καὶ μένοντα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας*). The Confession of the Arians, likewise, which was carried¹ into Gaul by² Narcissus and others, and is also mentioned by Athanasius, expresses the same article still more fully, in these words^e; “Whose kingdom being indestructible, remaineth unto boundless ages” (*οὗ ἡ βασιλεία, ἀκατάλυτος οὖσα, διαμένει εἰς τοὺς ἀπείρους αἰῶνας*). The same sentence³ occurs in the Confession of the same party which was despatched into Italy by the hands of Macedonius and others, and in the Confession of the Synod of Sirmium, which Athanasius recites^f just afterwards. It is therefore manifest, that the article⁴ respecting the eternity of the kingdom of Christ had a place in the ancient creed of the East. This creed seems also to have been referred to by that very ancient writer Justin Martyr, in his Dialogue with Trypho; where, after having recited in paraphrase⁵ the rule of faith concerning Christ our Lord, he afterwards introduces Trypho repeating, as it were, the article of the future judgment of Christ, in these words^g; “That to Him it hath been assigned to judge all men whatsoever, and that His is the everlasting kingdom.” I am of opinion, however, that the clause, “Whose kingdom shall have no end,” was directed against the Cerinthians, who taught that those magnificent things which are spoken of the kingdom of Christ in Scripture, are to be understood of an earthly, carnal, and

¹ missa.

² per.

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³ sententiam.

⁴ clausulam.

⁵ παραφραστικῶς.

^b De Synod. Arim. et Seleuc.

^c P. 892. [§ 22. p. 735.]

^d P. 894. [§ 24. p. 737.]

^e P. 895. [§ 25. p. 738.]

^f P. 896. [§ 26. p. 738.] and 900.

[§ 27. p. 742.]

^g ὅτι αὐτῷ δέδοται τὸ κρίναι πάντας ἀπλῶς, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ αἰῶνιος βασιλεία.—p. 264. [§ 46. p. 141.]

simply Epicurean kingdom, which should last only a thousand years. There were, indeed, in the first age after that of the Apostles, many¹ even of the Catholics (and among them Justin, whom I have just mentioned) who expected a reign of Christ on earth for a thousand years; but their opinion, erroneous though it probably² was, was yet totally³ different from that of Cerinthus. For those Catholics certainly did not believe that the felicity of this reign would consist "in the gratifications of appetite and lust, in other words, in meats and drinks, and sexual intercourse;" which, according to the testimony of Dionysius of Alexandria^h, was the mean and impure opinion of Cerinthus; but the reign of Christ, which they expected, was one in which peace should flourish, truth and righteousness and piety prevail, and the holy name of God be everywhere celebrated with becoming praises. In the next place, the Catholics looked for that temporary kingdom of Christ, as a prelude merely (if one may so say) to His kingdom in heaven, which they believed would endure for ever.

CHAP. VI.
§ 16, 17.

¹ plerique.

² fortasse.

³ toto
cœlo.

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17. Now, from all that we have thus far advanced, the antiquity of the Creed of Jerusalem is, as I conceive, at length made sufficiently clear, and that it is in reality nothing else than the ancient creed of the East, which was drawn up by apostolic men as an antidote against the multiform heresy of the Gnostics, which raised its head with increased insolence in the East soon after the death of the Apostles. Cyrilⁱ accordingly calls it "the holy and apostolic belief, which was delivered unto us to profess." And from this it is, moreover, easy to gather that that creed is more ancient than all the Western creeds, even the Roman itself. Vossius indeed mentions, as strange and very improbable, the opinion of the learned John Rodolph Lavater, who thought that the Apostles' Creed, as it is called, was formed out of the Constantinopolitan; and cites his words on Christ's descent into hell, book i. part 3, chap. 15, where he writes to this effect; "This confession (of the Council of Constantinople) I most firmly believe was, with a few alterations, afterwards put

^h ἐν γαστρὶς καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ γαστέρα
πλησμοναῖς, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ σιτίοις καὶ ποτοῖς
καὶ γάμοις.—In Eusebius, Eccl. Hist.
vii. 25.

ⁱ τὴν παραδοθεῖσαν ἡμῖν εἰς ἐπαγγελίαν ἁγίαν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν πίστιν.—
Catech. xviii. p. 501. [§ 32. p. 300.]

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forth as the creed of the Apostles^k." I, however, profess my agreement with this learned man to this extent, that I think that what is called the Apostles' Creed, that is, the Roman, was made up from the Creed of Jerusalem, or ancient creed of the East, with which the Constantinopolitan quite agrees, when you take away from it what was added in opposition to Arius and Macedonius.

¹ passiva.

18. I will more clearly explain my view by the following propositions. 1. The formula, by which in primitive times those who came to be baptized professed their belief in the most Holy Trinity, was simple, and couched in nearly these words; "I believe in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost." This is the general¹ opinion of the most learned theologians of the present day; nor does Episcopius, as we have seen, dissent from it. 2. The Church was not allowed by the heretics a long enjoyment of this simple confession of the Trinity. For when in the very days of the Apostles there had arisen the Simonians, Menandrians, Cerinthians, and other heretics of the same stamp, who had busied themselves in secretly corrupting the sound doctrine respecting God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and other principal articles of Christianity, by and by, after the departure of the Apostles from this life, those false apostles began to scatter about and disseminate their heresies with increased audacity. Hence it was thought good by the bishops of those Churches which the heretics were disturbing, to draw up an enlarged confession of the faith, and thenceforward to require it of those who were to be baptized; one, that is, in which the true view respecting the most Holy Trinity should be more clearly set forth, with the addition besides of the other articles of the Christian faith, which were likewise opposed by the same heretics. 3. These first heretics arose in the East; and, generally speaking, it was the Eastern Churches only which they molested, as has been already shewn. 4. From this we easily infer that the more ample confession of faith was first made in the East. For where the poison spread, there was the remedy prepared. 5. The explanations² and additions, which were appended to that earliest and most

² ἐξηγήσεις.

^k [These are the words of Lavater, Christ into Hell, book i. part 3. chap. in his work On the Descent of Jesus 15. p. 302.—B.]

simple confession of faith by the Orientals, were most of them afterwards received by the Roman and the Western Churches into their creeds, although, indeed, some of them at a later period. For in the Roman and the Aquileian creeds, even in the time of Ruffinus, there were wanting from the article on God the Father the words, "Maker of heaven and earth;" for Ruffinus does not give or expound them in the Creed of Aquileia, nor does he mention that they were added in that of Rome. See Vossius, *On the Three Creeds*, dissertation i. thesis 31. But it is evident from what I said a little before, that that clause respecting the creation of all things by the most high God was inserted in the most ancient creeds of the East in opposition to the heresy of the Gnostics. And hence, even Irenæus in his rule of faith expressly has the words; "who made the heaven and the earth" (τὸν πεποιηκότα τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν). In the article on the Church, the word Catholic was wanting in Ruffinus's time in the creeds of Aquileia and Rome. For Ruffinus does not expound it in the Aquileian, nor does he mention it as contained in the Roman. In the edition of Pamelius, it is true, the word is inserted, but contrary to the authority of the most ancient MSS.¹ This, indeed, will perhaps seem a trifling matter; but what we shall next observe will certainly be of very great importance. In the creeds of Rome and Aquileia, down to the days of Ruffinus and after, there was wanting (what, as we have seen, the Eastern Creed had at a much earlier date) the article touching the belief of the Life Everlasting, as is very plainly shewn by Vossius, *On the Three Creeds*, dissertation i. thesis 43. See also the notes of the late¹ Bishop of Oxford on Cyprian's Synodical Epistle, § 70. p. 190. In the African Creed, however, this article was extant even in the time of Cyprian, as was shewn above, § 7. [pp. 117, 118.]

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§ 17—19.

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¹ τοῦ μακα-
ρίτου.

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19. But I said that *most* of the additions of the Eastern Churches, not all, were adopted by the Church of Rome into its confession of faith. For what appeared to them to be superfluous² in the Eastern Creed, or to have been added in opposition to heresies that were almost unknown in the West, the Church of Rome, liking brevity, omitted in its

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² παρέλ-
κειν.

¹ [It is omitted in the Benedictine edition.—B.]

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¹ plebs
Christiana.

² συνάμει.

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confession. Thus in the first article, respecting God the Father, it adopted, although at a later period, the words, "Maker of heaven and earth," but not those which follow, "and of all things visible and invisible;" thinking that these were involved in what went before. Besides, the Christian people¹ at Rome had scarcely even heard mention of those monstrous persons, who ascribed to different creators the visible and the invisible. In this and the following article, the word "one" (*εἷς*), which, as we are informed by Ruffinus, all the Eastern Churches had in their creed, was omitted by the Church of Rome, no doubt because the blasphemy of those who denied one God the Father, the Creator, or one Jesus Christ, was almost unknown at Rome. Again, in the second article, after the words, "only-begotten Son of God," the Church of Rome did not add, what immediately followed in the Eastern Creed, namely, "begotten of the Father before all worlds," &c., because all understood these words to be virtually² included in those that went before, and had been so instructed in their catechising. So also in the seventh article, on Christ's coming to judge the quick and the dead, the words which immediately follow in the Eastern Creed, "whose kingdom shall have no end," are wanting in the Roman Creed; because at Rome nobody entertained the dreams of Cerinthus. The eighth article of the Roman Creed is even now left bare, without any explanation or addition, just as it stood in the first and most simple confession of the Trinity, "And I believe in the Holy Ghost;" a circumstance which before now has often excited my surprise. For in the articles respecting God the Father and the Son, the Church of Rome, as we have seen, borrowed some things from the Churches of the East, to add to its own confession. Moreover, after the article on the Holy Ghost, it added (after the example of the East) certain articles on the Church, the Remission of sins, &c. Why then did it not illustrate the article on the Holy Ghost itself by any explanation? Why did it not here also imitate the example of the Easterns, and add, "The Comforter, who spake by the prophets"? No doubt, if this omission was made designedly, we must say, as in the former instances, that these words were left out of the Roman Creed, because they were directed against a heresy

which caused no trouble to the Church of Rome. And, indeed, no other addition was here required ; for besides that of the Gnostics (and even this did not so much directly do dishonour to the Holy Ghost, as to the Law and the Prophets,) no other heresy arose in any place, which professedly and openly went to detract from the dignity of the Holy Ghost, prior to Macedonius, against whose blasphemy a sufficient safeguard was soon provided by the fathers of Constantinople. Arius, indeed, by denying the Godhead of the Son, did by consequence even yet more deny the divine Majesty of the Holy Ghost also ; for that heretic could not have been so foolish as to regard the Holy Ghost as superior to the Son of God ; (and, therefore, by Epiphanius^m, Ambroseⁿ, and Augustine^o, he is charged with having called the Holy Ghost the creature of a creature ;) but he did not at all direct his efforts to the maintenance of this heresy ; and accordingly the Council of Nice defined nothing respecting the Holy Ghost in opposition to him. No doubt the Antitrinitarians of all ages have selected the divinity of the Son of God as the chief object of their attack, taking occasion, as is plain, from such passages of Scripture as relate to His incarnation and the economy¹ which He undertook for the sake of our salvation¹ *οἰκονο-* (neglecting meanwhile, or rather rejecting, the very many² *μύαν.* testimonies of Holy Writ, which speak most openly of His² *quamplurimis.* divine nature³) ; and as they had no such pretext to employ³ *θεολογία.* in opposing the divinity of the Holy Ghost, they preferred to be silent about it, content with having, as it were, wounded the Holy Ghost also through the side of the Son. It is however, meanwhile, not undeserving of notice, that even some of the ancient Latin doctors, in expounding the article of their creed on the Holy Ghost, manifestly had in view that addition of the Eastern creeds. Thus Novatian, a contemporary of Cyprian and a presbyter of the Church of Rome, in his rule of faith, or, as we now call it, his Treatise on the Trinity, chap. 29, on the article of the Holy Ghost, has these words^p ; “ But this Holy Ghost our Lord some-

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^m Epiph. Hær. lxi. § 52. 56. [§ 17. p. 740. and § 56. p. 778.]

ⁿ Amb. de Symb. c. 2. [This work is undoubtedly to be regarded as spurious. See the Works of St. Am-

brose. Append. vol. ii. p. 321.—B.]

^o Aug. de Hær. c. 49. [vol. viii. p. 18.]

^p Hunc autem Spiritum Sanctum Dominus Christus modo *Paracletum*,

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¹ advoca-
tionem
gentibus
præstitit.

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times calls the Comforter, sometimes declares to be the Spirit of truth; but He is not new under the Gospel, nor yet newly given. For it was *He, who both in the Prophets* accused the people, and in the Apostles accomplished the calling of the Gentiles¹:” and a few words after; “He is therefore one and the same Spirit, who both in the Prophets and the Apostles,” &c. Here we have the sense and scope of the words, “the Comforter, who spake by the Prophets” (τὸ παράκλητον, τὸ λαλήσαν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν), clearly set forth. For they intimate, that there was not one Spirit under the Old Testament, another under the New; not one in the Prophets, and another in the Apostles; but that that one and the same Spirit, who inspired the Apostles, had also spoken by the ancient Prophets, contrary to what the before-mentioned heretics taught. In like manner, Ruffinus, in his Exposition of the Creed, after remarking that by the preposition *in*, in the clause, “I believe *in* the Holy Ghost,” His divinity is indicated, immediately adds²; “He therefore is the Holy Ghost, who inspired the Law and the Prophets under the Old Testament, and under the New Testament, the Gospels and the Apostles.” Lastly, the tenth article of the Roman Creed, on the Remission of sins, is clearly nothing else than a portion of the article which is thus more fully expressed in the ancient creed of the East; “I believe in one baptism of repentance for the remission of sins;” or, as the fathers of Constantinople express that article; “I acknowledge one baptism of repentance for the remission of sins.” The former part of this article, respecting baptism, the Romans seem to have been silent on, because no danger threatened the Roman Church from the heresy of the Gnostics respecting that sacrament. Although, however, in all the particulars which we have hitherto noticed, the Roman Creed is more concise than that of the East, yet in its present shape it is more full than the latter by two other entire articles, viz. those on the descent of Christ into hell, and on the com-

appellat, modo Spiritum veritatis esse pronuntiat; qui non est evangelio novus, sed nec nove datus. Nam *hic ipse et in prophetis* populum accusavit, et in apostolis *advocationem gentibus præstitit* Unus ergo

et idem Spiritus, qui in prophetis et apostolis, &c.—[p. 725.]

² Is ergo Spiritus Sanctus est, qui in Veteri Testamento legem et prophetas, in novo vero evangelia et apostolos inspiravit.—[p. 188.]

munion of saints. But it has been long ago observed by learned men, that these articles were anciently wanting in the Roman Creed also^r. These now are the reasons which have persuaded me that the Eastern Creed, as expounded by Cyril, is more ancient than the Roman, which is called the Apostles' Creed, and that the latter was formed and derived from the former.

20. I will add but one observation more, and then bring to a close this discussion on the creeds of the ancient Church, which is already sufficiently prolix. It is then to be noted, that even the Arians themselves in their confessions of faith, as given by Athanasius, and mentioned above by me in this chapter, stated the article on the Son of God in almost the same way in which it is found in the Creed of Jerusalem. For thus does their first confession, recited by Athanasius^s, express this article; "And in one Son of God, only-begotten, existing before all ages, and coexisting¹ with the Father that begat Him, by whom all things were made." So also the second confession, which follows shortly after in Athanasius^t; "And in one Lord Jesus Christ, His only-begotten Son, God, by whom are all things, who was begotten God before all ages of the Father." In like manner the Confession of Theophronius runs^u; "And in His only-begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, begotten of the Father before the ages, perfect God." Where "perfect God" (Θεὸν τέλειον) is at any rate equivalent to "true God" (Θεὸν ἀληθινόν) of the Creed of Jerusalem. So again the confession of the same parties which was sent to Constans Augustus^v into Gaul by the hands of Narcissus and others; "And in His only-begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, begotten of the Father before all ages, God, by whom all

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§ 19, 20.

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¹ συνόντα.

^r See Vossius On the Three Creeds, dissert. i. thesis 34; and the notes on Cyprian's Epistle lxx. p. 190. edit. Oxon.

^s καὶ εἰς ἓνα υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ μονογενῆ, πρὸ πάντων αἰώνων ὑπάρχοντα καὶ συνόντα τῷ γεγεννηκότι αὐτὸν Πατρὶ, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο.—[On the Councils of Ariminum and Seleucia, § 22. p. 735.]

^t καὶ εἰς ἓνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ Θεόν, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα, τὸν γεγεννηθέντα πρὸ τῶν

αἰώνων ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς Θεόν.—[§ 23. p. 736.]

^u καὶ εἰς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα, τὸν γεγεννηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων, Θεόν τέλειον.—[§ 24. p. 737.]

^v καὶ εἰς τὸν μονογενῆ αὐτοῦ υἱόν, τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεγεννηθέντα, Θεόν, δι' οὗ ἐγένετο τὰ πάντα.—[§ 25. p. 737.]

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things were made." And after this manner the article is stated in nearly all their confessions which are afterwards given by Athanasius. But they themselves say, that in these confessions they have religiously followed the rule of faith, which had been handed down from the beginning. For thus they preface their first confession; "Nor have we received any other faith beside that which has been handed down from the beginning" (οὔτε ἄλλην τινὰ πίστιν παρὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς παραδοθεῖσαν ἐδεξάμεθα). And they thus begin the confession itself; "We have learnt from the first to believe" (μεμαθήκαμεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πιστεύειν). Thus also their second confession, which is afterwards transcribed by Athanasius; "We believe conformably to the evangelical and apostolical tradition" (πιστεύομεν ἀκολουθῶς τῇ εὐαγγελικῇ καὶ ἀποστολικῇ παραδόσει). From this, therefore, we again conclude, that that special mode of the Sonship of Jesus Christ, about which Episcopius contends, (namely that, whereby He, in His more excellent nature, was before all ages begotten of God the Father, as God, by whom all things were made,) was most plainly set forth in the creed, or creeds, which existed in the Churches of the East before the Council of Nice; just as we have seen was the case in the Creed of the Church of Jerusalem, the most ancient of all the Eastern Churches. For the Arians, who put forth the above-mentioned confessions, were Easterns, and they put them forth, as they themselves professed, in accordance with the rule of faith which had been received in their Churches from the very beginning.

¹ αὐτοκατα-
κρίτους.

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21. In the next place, it is manifest from this evidence, that those Arians were self-condemned¹. For by confessing, that the Son of God was begotten of God the Father before all worlds, and that He is very or perfect God, and that by Him all creatures were made, they themselves gave a death-blow to their own doctrine. For what man in his senses could believe, that by this confession nothing else was meant, than that the Son of God is a mere creature, made, before all other created beings indeed, out of nothing,—which was the opinion of the Arians? How could He have existed before all ages, who only² received a commencement of being at the beginning of the creation, that is to say, at the first moment of the first

² qui
demum.

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age? How could He be God, and very or perfect God, and create all things out of nothing, who Himself is a mere creature? For as Athanasius justly says; "It is not possible for creatures to have their generation one and the same with the Creator" (οὐκ οἶόν τε μίαν ἔχειν τὰ δημιουργούμενα τῷ δημιουργούντι τὴν γένεσιν). Lastly, how could He have been begotten of God the Father Himself, who was made out of nothing? Hence the same great Athanasius goes on to confute the Arians out of their own confessions in the following severe terms^x; "You also have written, that the Son was begotten of the Father. If, therefore, when you name the Father, or mention the name 'God,' you do not mean essence, nor understand the [self-]existent Himself¹, as He is in respect of essence²; but by these words signify something else about Him³, or even something that is inferior, that I may not express it; then you should not have written, that the Son was of the Father⁴, but of what is about Him, or of what is in Him: in order that by shrinking from saying that God is truly a Father, and by conceiving the simple [Divine Being] compound, and in a material way⁵, you may become the authors of a new blasphemy." And a little afterwards^y; "And you have yourselves also said, that the Son is of God⁶; therefore in fact you have said, that He is of the essence of the Father." Besides, suppose we were to grant, that the words of the ancient creed could bear the sense which the Arians attached to them; it is still certain, that the primitive Church, which used that creed, understood the words in a far other and nobler sense. For the Catholic doctors before Arius, although in other points in the question of the Son's divinity, some of them occasionally spoke somewhat incautiously or obscurely, yet all did, with one mouth, as it were, acknowledge that the Son of God was begotten of God the Father in such a way, as that He was

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§ 20, 21.

¹ αὐτὸν τὸν ὄντα.

² ὅπερ ἐστὶ κατ' οὐσίαν.

³ περὶ αὐτόν.

⁴ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς.

⁵ σωματικῶς.

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⁶ ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ.

^x καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐγράψατε, ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεγενῆσθαι τὸν υἱόν. εἰ μὲν οὖν τὸν Πατέρα ὀνομάζοντες, ἢ τὸ, Θεός, ὄνομα λέγοντες, οὐκ οὐσίαν σημαίνετε, οὐδὲ αὐτὸν τὸν ὄντα, ὅπερ ἐστὶ κατ' οὐσίαν, νοεῖτε, ἀλλ' ἕτερόν τι περὶ αὐτόν, ἢ τὸ γούν χεῖρον, ἵνα μὴ παρ' ἐμοῦ λέγῃται, διὰ τούτων σημαίνετε, ἕδει μὴ γράφειν ὑμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς τὸν υἱόν, ἀλλ' ἐκ

τῶν περὶ αὐτόν ἢ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ. ἵνα φεύγοντες λέγειν ἀληθῶς Πατέρα τὸν Θεόν, σύνθετον δὲ τὸν ἀπλόν, καὶ σωματικῶς αὐτὸν ἐπινοοῦντες, καινότερας βλασφημίας ἐφευρεταὶ γένησθε. — [De Synodis, § 34. p. 750.]

^y εἰρήκατε δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν υἱόν· δηλονότι ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς αὐτὸν εἰρήκατε. — [§ 35. p. 750.]

born of His essence, and was therefore Himself really God; this has been most fully shewn in my Defence of the Nicene Creed, throughout the second book^z. Idle, therefore, was the boast of the Arians, that they no way deviated from the ancient rule of faith; since it was the words only of that rule, and not the true meaning of it, such as had been received in the Church from the beginning, which they retained.

22. In the last place, it is clear from this, that the Council of Nice, rightly and of necessity, adopted the clause respecting the Consubstantiality, in opposition to those impious inventions of the Arians, and in order to assert the true and genuine sense of the article of the ancient creed respecting the Son of God. For, instead of the clauses which the ancient creed had, namely; "the only-begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father before all worlds, very God, by ¹ whom all things were made," the Nicene fathers substituted the following^a; "Begotten of the Father, only-begotten, that is, of the substance of the Father; God of God, Light of Light, Very God of Very God, Begotten not made, of one substance with the Father, by whom all things were made."

¹ per.

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Here indeed we see, that the words of the ancient creed which follow *μονογενῆ*, "the only-begotten," namely, "Begotten of the Father before all worlds," were omitted to make room for the clause respecting the Consubstantiality. The Fathers of Constantinople, however, retained the omitted words, adding from the Nicene Creed what was sufficient respecting the Consubstantiality, in the following way^b; "The only-begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father before all worlds, God of God, and Light of Light, Very God of Very God, begotten not made, of one substance with the Father, by whom all things were made." But it is evident, that nothing was here added to the old creed of the East, which was not virtually² contained in it before. For it is absolutely necessary that He, who was begotten of God the Father

² δυνάμει.^z [Vol. i. pp. 55—367.]

^a γεννηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς μονογενῆ, τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς· Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ, φῶς ἐκ φωτός, Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ, γεννηθέντα οὐ ποιηθέντα, ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο.

^b τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν ἐκ Πατρὸς γεννηθέντα πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων, Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ, καὶ φῶς ἐκ φωτός, Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ, γεννηθέντα οὐ ποιηθέντα, ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ, δι' οὗ πάντα ἐγένετο.

before all worlds, and is "very" God, by whom all things were made, be of one substance with God the Father, that is, of the same nature or essence with Him (which is the one thing which the fathers meant by that word); and in that sense were the words of the ancient creed always understood by all Catholics before the Arian controversy arose.

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23. To state, therefore, the whole subject briefly; since it was agreed amongst Arians and Catholics, that by the rule of faith which had been handed down from the beginning all were bound to believe in the only-begotten Son of God, begotten before all worlds of God the Father, "very" (or, as the Arians preferred to say, "perfect") God, by whom all things were made; the only point of inquiry which remains is, which of the two parties interpreted that rule more correctly, that is, more agreeably both to the obvious signification of the words themselves, and to the sense received in the Church,—the Arians, who taught that the Son of God was nothing else than the first creature made by God out of nothing, (for to that the opinion of them all necessarily comes, after the colouring is wiped off,) or the Catholics, who believed that He is most truly God Himself, of the same nature and essence with God His Father? But surely there is nothing here to make us pause long, as between two roads¹; ¹ *veluti in bivio*. [169]

^c With regard to the Arians indeed, who lay down that the Son of God is the first of all creatures and made out of nothing, the case is very clear. But the Semiarians also, who taught that the Word was born of the Father, and therefore was "of similar substance" (*ὁμοιούσιον*), but not begotten of the substance of the Father, and "of one substance" (*ὁμοούσιον*) with Him, deviated as well from the proper meaning of the words, which occur equally in their own creeds and in those of the Catholics, as from the ancient sense of the holy fathers. "For," as Athanasius observes in his work On the Decrees of the Council of Nice, "what is begotten of any one by nature, and does not accrue from without, that nature owns

to be a son, and this is the meaning of the word." (*Τὸ γὰρ ἐκ τινὸς φύσει γεννώμενον, καὶ μὴ ἐξωθεν ἐπικτώμενον, οὐδὲν ἢ φύσις, καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ ὀνόματος ἐστὶ σημαίνον.*) Whence, if the Semiarians had meant, that the Word of God was begotten really of the Father, and was properly His Son, they would have confessed Him to be begotten of the very substance of God the Father, and to be co-essential with Him; which very many of the holy Antenicene fathers taught in sense, and some of them even in these very terms, as our reverend author has excellently shown in the entire second book of his Defence of the Nicene Creed.—GRABE.

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the Theodotians, Artemonites, Samosatenians, Photinians, and the prodigies of our own time, the Socinians, (though Episcopus has neither feared nor blushed to become their advocate,) there is no one who cannot easily see for himself.

[170] Having thus diligently investigated and accurately considered the creeds, which existed in the Churches before the Nicene Council, it is at last abundantly clear, how vain was the attempt of Episcopus^a to prove *from them*, "that in the primitive Churches, from the very age of the Apostles, for at least three whole centuries, that special mode of the Sonship of Jesus Christ," namely that, whereby He was begotten of God the Father Himself before all worlds, and therefore was God, "was not judged necessary to be known and believed in order to salvation." Surely the contrary assertion is quite¹ evincitur. proved¹ from these very creeds. Let us now proceed, with the help of Christ our Saviour and our God, to complete what remains of our subject.

^a [P. 339.]

ON CHAPTERS IV. V. AND VI.

On the first outlines of the Confession of Faith which was anciently made in Baptism, its increase and its completion, made in the very age, and with the authority, or permission, of the Apostles.

1. IN proposing to exhibit the first elements¹ of the Apostles' Creed, ¹ *stamina.* and its further construction² in particular articles, and lastly its ² *texturas.* ultimate completion, accomplished in the very age of the holy Apostles, and by their counsel or permission, I attempt a subject of no small importance, obscure from its very antiquity, and made still more obscure by the novel conceits of various persons. Among such views is deservedly to be classed the assertion of Episcopius, that the most ancient creed, and that which was used in the earliest administration of baptism, was this; "I believe in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost;" as is clear from his words quoted above, iv. 1. [p. 66.] To which our reverend author gives an excellent answer in the third section of that chapter [p. 68], to the effect, "that that was never regarded as a full and complete creed, such as comprehended all the necessary articles of the faith in express words, &c." And this he has proved with great learning in chap. vi., that the Western Church, as well as the Eastern, before the Council of Nice, used in the sacrament of baptism a more full and explicit creed than that mentioned by Episcopius, "I believe in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost." And specially, in the seventh and following sections, he has proved most plainly, that the creed of each Church, used before the Council of Nice, certainly did not end at the words, "I believe in the Holy Ghost;" but that the remaining articles of the faith, concerning the Church, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the flesh, and the life of the world to come, had been long added to the creed. But what if, from an accurate examination of Holy Scripture itself, with the aid of fair inference from it, it can be proved; 1. That the very first outlines of the Apostles' Creed, as it was used in the earliest administration of baptism, were more full than that confession of the faith given by Episcopius; "I believe in God the

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¹ *max.*

Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost ;” 2. That that creed soon received so great additions, as that even in the time, and with the authority, or at all events the permission of the Apostles, it became at length as large as that which is now commonly called the Apostles’ Creed, and contained all its articles, with the exception of two only, on the descent of Christ into hell, and on the communion of saints.

² *hypotheses.* 2. In order to prove both these propositions as clearly and as briefly as the subject matter permits, I premise two assumptions² ;

1. That the first Christians, whether made such from Jews or Heathens, in the solemn profession of their faith before receiving baptism, either of their own accord, or by the command of the holy Apostles, observed a course, which is suggested by reason itself to all who pass from one sect to another, and confirmed by the constant observance of all times ; namely, to confess the truth of what are called the fundamental articles of that Church, to which they were joining themselves, diametrically opposed to the chief errors of the sect which they were leaving. 2. That these primitive believers, before receiving the sacraments, testified that they gave their assent to those heads of Christian doctrine, in which they had previously been catechetically instructed ; since these [heads of doctrine] had been delivered to them not only for the purpose of being embraced from the heart, but also of being confessed with the tongue. Whence the Apostle, in chap. x. of his Epistle to the Romans, after mentioning “ the word of faith,” in verse 8, adds in verses 9 and 10 ; “ That if thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved. For with the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.” And, indeed, if any defender of Episcopius, or any other person whatsoever, is disposed to deny these two assumptions of mine, I am totally at a loss to know, how he will be able to persuade either himself or others that that confession, “ I believe in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost,” or indeed any other, was made before baptism by the first disciples of the Apostles. Omitting, therefore, all more lengthy proof of these foundations³, I at once proceed with the demonstration to be built upon them.

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³ *fundamentorum.*

⁴ *confirmatum do.*

3. With respect to the first article, “ I believe in God the Father ;” that this was enlarged soon after the very first conversion of heathens, and that by these or similar words, “ One, Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth,” I thus prove⁴ from the force of the premises which I have assumed. The chief error of

the heathen, at least of the ordinary mass of them, was polytheism, or the belief in several false gods, of which one ruled the heaven, another the earth, another the sea, and so on; and the vain adoration of them. Whence the Apostle, in Galatians iv. 8, writes; "When ye knew not God, ye did service unto them which by nature are no gods." On the other hand, the primary article of the Christian faith was concerning *one* true God, on whom all things in heaven, on earth, and in the sea, depend; concerning whom Paul's words are worthy of notice and consideration, in 1 Corinthians viii. 5, 6; "Though there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth, as there be" (that is, amongst the heathen) "gods many, and lords many; yet to us" (Christians) "there is but one God the Father, of whom are all things, and we in Him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by Him." Accordingly, the Apostles in their first sermons addressed to the heathen preached unto them that one true Almighty God, "exhorting them to turn from these vain" (idols) "to the living God," as we find recorded of Paul and Barnabas in Acts xiv. 15. In like manner Paul declared to the Athenians God, whom they knew not, saying, "Whom ye ignorantly worship, Him declare I unto you. God that made the world and all things therein, seeing that He is Lord of heaven and earth," &c. Acts xvii. 23. Who therefore can doubt, that of the heathen converts to the Christian faith there was required before all things the confession of one God Almighty? You will say that the heathens themselves¹ already believed in one supreme God, on whom all¹ *ipso.* things depended, and that there was therefore no need of their being instructed by Christians, and confessing Him. I reply; this was quite true with regard to the philosophers and more learned among the Gentiles; but it was not so with regard to the uneducated² *plebeis.* and lower class of men, very many of whom were ignorant of one true God, and He Almighty, as is clear from the words of Paul alone, which have been already quoted from his Epistle to the Galatians; so that we have no need of other arguments. But since most of the new converts from the heathen were uneducated, and ignorant of all the wisdom of the philosophers, according to 1 Cor. i. 26, 27, it was obviously necessary that they should receive from Christians the knowledge of one Almighty God, and, having received it, should make confession of it previous to their baptism. But the more learned heathen also, although they held that there was one God, were yet ignorant of His having created out of nothing the heaven, the earth, and the sea, and all things that are therein, or, more

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properly speaking, obstinately denied it. For which reason, the Apostles, in their instruction of the Gentiles, when they make mention of one God, immediately add, that He was the Creator of heaven, and earth, and sea; as is evident not only from the discourse of Paul to the Athenians already cited, but also from another passage, Acts xiv. 15, where, after "the living God," it is added, "who made heaven, and earth, and the sea, and all things that are therein." In like manner, at the end of the world, when the fulness of the Gentiles shall be to be brought over to the true God, the angel "having the everlasting Gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people," will say, "Fear God, and worship Him that made heaven, and earth, and the sea, and the fountains of waters," Rev. xiv. 6, 7. It was therefore essential that the Gentiles, who were solemnly to repeat the symbol of their belief, should in it before all things profess that they believed in "one God, Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth," whom they had been heretofore ignorant of, or had denied, but of whom they had just been taught by the Christians.

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4. I am unable, therefore, to subscribe to the opinion of some learned men, who suppose that the above-mentioned words were added to the creed in the second century, on account of heretics, such as the Valentinians, the Marcionites, and the other Gnostics, who denied the unity of God, and the supreme omnipotence of the Creator of the world, as is clearly evident from Irenæus, Tertullian, and others who wrote against them. For it is no less evident from the same writers, that they urged against the heretics we have mentioned that very confession of one God the Creator in the creed, as having been received from the Apostles themselves. Thus Irenæus, book i., after having mentioned in chap. i. p. 44 of my edition^a, "the inflexible rule of the truth which each had received by baptism" (τὸν κανόνα τῆς ἀληθείας ἀκλινῇ, ὃν διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἔληφε), afterwards, in chap. ii. p. 45^b, subjoins the rule with this preface; "For the Church, although dispersed throughout the whole world, even to the ends of the earth, has yet received from the Apostles and their disciples" (those, namely, who were sent out by them into various parts, and preached the Gospel) "the faith in one God the Father Almighty, who hath made

^a [c. 9, 4. p. 46.]^b ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐκκλησία, καίπερ καθ' ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἕως περάτων τῆς γῆς διεσπαρμένη, παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν ἐκείνων μαθητῶν πυραλα-

βοῦσα τὴν εἰς ἓνα Θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα, τὸν πεποιηκότα τὸν οὐρανὸν, καὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ τὰς θαλάσσας, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς, πίστιν.—[c. 10. p. 48.]

the heaven, and the earth, and the seas, and all that in them is." And in the following, chap. xix. p. 93, col. 1, line 11^c, he writes; "Since, however, we hold the rule of truth, that is, that there is one God Almighty, who made all things by His Word," &c. In like manner, in iii. 4, p. 205^d, and following, of my edition, he mentions "the old tradition," and reciting it in a short form, says; "Believing in one God, the Maker of heaven, and earth, and all things which are in them." Compare ii. 9, p. 128, col. ii. line 16, and p. 129, col. 1. line 4^e. Lastly, he says, in iv. 62, p. 360, line 11^f; "Our faith is sound in one God Almighty, of whom are all things" (namely, by creation)—(εἰς ἓνα Θεὸν παντοκράτορα, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα, πίστις ὁλόκληρος). In like manner, Tertullian, On Prescription against Heretics, chap. xiii.^g, says; "The rule of faith is that whereby we believe that there is one only God, and that He is no other than the Maker of the world." In the same way, in his work On the Veiling of Virgins, chap. i. he recites the creed, saying^h, "In one only God Almighty, Maker of the world." But in his treatise Against Praxeas he expressly writes, chap. ii. "that this rule had come down from the beginning of the Gospel." From which testimonies, as well as from others of ancient authors, which I omit for the sake of brevity, it is clear that they alleged, in opposition to the heretics, the confession of one God the Creator in the creed, as having been delivered by the Apostles themselves, at the beginning of the preaching of the Gospelⁱ. They would, however, have acted deceitfully and very absurdly, as well as have exposed themselves to the execration and derision of the heretics, if they had attempted to confute them from an article of the creed, which had been only lately inserted by the bishops their adversaries, and to pass it off as a tradition of the Apostles. This clause, therefore, was not put into the creed by the bishops in opposition to the teaching of heretics, but by the Apostles in opposition to the error of the heathen.

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5. Again, with respect to the second article in the confession of faith, Episcopius is incorrect in his assertion that the bare title of "the Son" was mentioned¹; for the names "Jesus Christ" are ¹prolatum fuisse.

^c Cum teneamus autem nos regulam veritatis, id est, quia sit unus Deus omnipotens, qui omnia condidit, per Verbum suum, &c.—[c. 22. p. 98.]

^d In unum Deum credentes, fabricatorem cœli, et terræ, et omnium quæ in eis sunt.—[p. 178.]

^e [c. 9. p. 126.]
[c. 33, 7. p. 272.]

^g Regula est autem fidei, qua creditur unum omnino Deum esse, nec alium præter mundi conditorem.—[p. 206.]

^h In unicum Deum omnipotentem, mundi conditorem.—[p. 173.]

ⁱ Hanc regulam ab initio evangelii decucurrisse.—[p. 501.]

expressly found in the confession of the Eunuch of the Ethiopian queen Candace, Acts viii. 37; πιστεύω τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ εἶναι τὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, "I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God." But yet it is not to be supposed that a full statement of the confession of faith respecting the Son of God was made even in this formula. For from the fact that St. Luke has only given these words of the Eunuch, one could not safely conclude that the Eunuch spoke no others; since it is evident, from other passages in the Acts of the Apostles, that St. Luke sometimes abridged the speeches that were made by others. Thus, for instance, in the account of St. Paul's conversion, Acts ix. 17, these words only are recorded as addressed by Ananias to St. Paul; "Brother Saul, the Lord, that appeared unto thee in the way as thou camest, hath sent me, that thou mightest receive thy sight, and be filled with the Holy Ghost." Whereas the Apostle himself, in Acts xxii. 14, mentions the following words besides as spoken by Ananias; "The God of our fathers hath chosen thee, that thou shouldest know His will, and see that Just One, and shouldest hear the voice of His mouth. For thou shalt be His witness unto all men of what thou hast seen and heard. And now, why tarriest thou? arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins, calling on the name of the Lord." And who can doubt, that the Eunuch in his confession expressed the assent which he had given to those things which Philip had declared to him, respecting the passion, death, and resurrection of Christ, as they had been suggested by the words of Isaiah, "He was led as a lamb to the slaughter," &c.? That others also, in like manner, before their baptism, made a profession respecting the articles we have mentioned, in which they had previously been instructed in their catechising, is deduced from our hypothesis. For it is plain from Acts ii. 22, and the following verses, from iii. 13, sqq., from x. 36, sqq., and from xiii. 27, sqq. and other passages, that the holy Apostles first of all preached both to Jews and Gentiles the passion, death, and resurrection of Jesus. Accordingly, Paul said to Agrippa, Acts xxvi. 22, 23, that he "witnessed both to small and great, that Christ should suffer, and that He should be the first that should rise from the dead, and shew light unto the people and to the Gentiles." Particularly worthy of notice also are his words in 1 Corinth. xv. 3, 4; "For I delivered unto you, among the first points (ἐν πρώτοις), that which I also received, how that Christ died for our sins, according to the Scriptures, and that He was buried, and that He rose again the third day, according to the

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¹ commata. Scriptures." And these very things are three clauses¹ of the article

concerning Christ, expressed in the same order in which they occur in the Apostles' Creed; and these, the Apostle tells the Corinthians, he had delivered to them as the "first" articles of the faith. And no wonder; for it was the passion and death of the Christ, or the Messiah, and the resurrection of Jesus, which the Jews obstinately denied; whilst the heathen treated both with derision. Hence St. Paul wrote to the same Corinthians, in the first chapter of the same Epistle, verses 23, 24; "We preach Christ crucified, unto the Jews a stumbling-block, and unto the Greeks foolishness; but unto them which are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God." By the force, therefore, of our second hypothesis also, both [Jews and Gentiles], before receiving the sacrament of the Christian faith, did, either of their own accord, or by order of the Apostles, profess those chief articles of that faith, which were rejected by both their sects.

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6. The clauses following the "resurrection" of Christ, viz. "His ascension into heaven, His sitting at the right hand of God the Father, and His coming again to judge the quick and the dead," were, it is certain, either denied by, or unknown to, the Jews and the heathen. Hence, when our Saviour had spoken of eating His flesh, and drinking His blood, and "His disciples murmured at it, He said unto them, Doth this offend you? What and if ye shall see the Son of Man ascend up where He was before?" John vi. 61, 62. As if His ascension into heaven would seem to them to be even more absurd than the mystery of eating His flesh and drinking His blood. And, indeed, after our Lord had said, when standing before the high priest, "Hereafter ye shall see the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven; then the high priest rent his clothes, saying, He hath spoken blasphemy; what further need have we of witnesses? behold, now ye have heard His blasphemy. What think ye? They answered and said, He is guilty of death." Matth. xxvi. 64—66. And hence St. Peter, the chief¹ of the Apostles and priests of the New Testament, in his catechetical discourses both to the Jews and Gentiles, made mention of the ascension of Christ into heaven, or His exaltation at the right hand of God, to have dominion over all things, and at last to pass judgment upon all, both quick and dead. See Acts ii. 33, sqq. and iii. 20, 21, also x. 42, where, in an address to Cornelius, he testifies that he did this by the command of Christ, in these words; "And He commanded us to preach unto the people, and to testify, that it is He which was ordained of God to be the Judge of quick and dead." If these things be taken in

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¹ princeps.

connexion with the hypotheses which I laid down at the beginning, we may again conclude from them, that a confession of these articles also was fitly made by the Jews and Gentiles that were recently converted, and about to be baptized.

7. I am therefore compelled to differ from the opinion of a recent very learned commentator on the History of the Apostles' Creed^k, who thinks that the article on the ascension of Christ was added to this creed in the second century, and was in opposition to Apelles, a disciple of Marcion, of whom the author of the Appendix to Tertullian's work On Prescription against Heretics, c. 51, writes¹; "He neither says that Christ existed only in an apparent form¹, as Marcion; nor yet in the substance of a true body, as the Gospel teaches; but that, as He descended from the higher regions, He framed² for Himself in the very time of His descent a sidereal and ærial body; that on His resurrection³, in His ascension, He gave back to each several element what had been borrowed in His descent; and thus, the several parts of His body being dispersed, He only gave back the spirit into heaven." For from this and the statements of other fathers about Apelles, it is evident that he did not simply deny the ascension "of Christ" into heaven, but of "the flesh of Christ." If, therefore, the fathers had added to the creed the article about Christ's ascension for the purpose of shutting out this error, they would not have expressed it thus barely, "He ascended into heaven," but they would have said, "His ascension in the flesh into heaven" (*τὴν ἐνσαρκον εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς ἀνάλῃψιν*), as Irenæus expresses it in his Exposition of the Creed, book i. chap. ii. p. 45, line 11^m, having in his mind, as it seems, the said heresy of Apelles, although he has not made mention of it anywhere. In like manner, if that article of the creed had been directed against the wild notion of Hermogenes, who affirmed that the body of Christ was laid aside in the sun, it would have been said that Christ had ascended with His body above all heavens, or above all "the stars." The case is the same in the following clauses, concerning "His sitting at the right hand of the Father," and "His coming again to judge the quick and the dead." Of which, if the

^k [The work referred to here, and afterwards repeatedly in the course of these Annotations, is "The History of the Apostles' Creed, with Critical Observations on its several Articles. 8vo. 1702;" published anonymously, but written by Lord Chancellor King.]

¹ Christum neque in phantasmate dicit fuisse, sicut Marcion, neque in substantia veri corporis, ut evange-

lium docet; sed eo quod e superiori-bus partibus descenderet, ipso descen-su sideream sibi carnem et aeream contexuisse; hunc in resurrectione singulis quibusque elementis, quæ in descensu suo mutuata fuissent, in ascensu reddidisse, et sic dispersis quibusque corporis sui partibus, in cælo Spiritum tantum reddidisse.—[p. 213.]

^m [c. 10. p. 48.]

¹ in phan-tasmate.

² contex-isse.

³ in resur-rectione.

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former had been opposed to the error of those who affirmed that the Saviour's "flesh sat in heaven void of sense, like a sheath, Christ being removed from it," as Tertullian witnesses in his work *On the Flesh of Christ*, chap. xxiv.ⁿ; and if the latter had been added to the creed to exclude the heresy partly of the Marcionites, who denied that God the Father of Christ was just, or a judge, and partly of the Gnostics, who denied the freedom of the will, as the author before quoted is of opinion; each clause would have been expressed, if not in fuller, yet in more specific terms, and such as might directly meet the heresies in question. But inasmuch as the authors of the creed taught catechumens to profess simply and in general terms¹ that Jesus Christ the Son of God "ascended into heaven, sat at the right hand of God the Father, and from thence will come to judge the quick and the dead," they must by all means be regarded as having prescribed this confession to such as heretofore either simply denied or were ignorant of these truths, namely, the Jews and heathen who were converted to the faith.

¹ generalibus, ut vocant.

8. But what must we conclude about that which precedes "the passion, death, resurrection," &c., namely, "the conception of Jesus Christ of the Holy Ghost, and His birth of the Virgin Mary?" Was this also from the beginning professed by Jews and Gentiles, previous to baptism? I am somewhat in doubt, I confess, as respects the very first beginnings of the Christian Church; because in none of the catechetical discourses which are extant in the Acts of the Apostles, is there any mention made either of the conception by the power of the Holy Ghost, without seed of man, or of the birth from² the Virgin Mary; and because we nowhere read in that² book either that the Apostles generally³ preached it to the Jews or³ Gentiles, or that the one or the other disputed against it; as it is clear was the case with the resurrection of Christ. It may therefore not be an idle conjecture, that the publication of this mystery was reserved for a fuller exposition of the Gospel after baptism; either because the childbearing of a virgin, without lying with man, would seem quite impossible to all men, both Jews and others, (see Justin Martyr's Dialogue with Trypho, in a passage quoted below, chap. vii. 4 °,) or because the knowledge of the supernatural conception and birth of Christ was not considered equally necessary with the belief of His passion and resurrection. Hence, we do not find the former truth treated of, not only in any of the discourses of the holy Apostles, of which we have already

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ⁿ [Carnem in coelis vacuum sensu, —p. 325.]
ut vaginam, exempto Christo sedere. ° [§ 48. p. 143.]

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spoken, but not even in all the written memorials of the Gospel history; St. Matthew and St. Luke, it is true, describing it at length, but St. Mark being perfectly silent about it, (to say nothing of St. John;) whereas, on the contrary, they all spoke of the latter truth in express terms, and every one of the four evangelists afterwards more fully narrated it in his writings. There is, however, no doubt but that, not long after the foundations of the Christian Church were laid, and especially after the Evangelical Memoirs¹ were published, Jews and Gentiles alike began to assail the wonderful birth of the Saviour of the blessed Virgin Mary, wrought² by the power of the Holy Ghost, and that hence an occasion was afforded to, nay a necessity was imposed on, such as were converted to Christ from either class, of professing His immaculate conception and birth, among other articles of their belief. So that I do not think the opinion of those learned men probable, who maintain that the clauses, of which I have just been speaking, were added to the creed only to exclude the heresy of Carpocrates, Cerinthus and the Ebionites, which impiously asserted that Christ was born of Joseph and Mary. But though this also were supposed, although not granted, still the addition to the confession of faith in question ought to be ascribed to the authority, or at least the permission, of the Apostles; since this execrable heresy raised its head from its infernal source whilst St. John, and perhaps others also of the Apostles, was still alive. See Irenæus, book iii. 3.

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9. I proceed to the third article of the Apostles' Creed, concerning the Holy Ghost, in whom the disciples of the Apostles at their baptism certainly testified their belief, as Episcopius himself rightly affirms; although others rashly deny this, supposing that the knowledge and profession of Jesus Christ the Son of God alone was requisite. For refuting them the account contained in the Acts of the Apostles, xix. 2 and following verses, is of itself sufficient. But what must we determine concerning those articles of faith which come in the creed after the confession of the Holy Ghost? Let us examine each one, beginning with "the forgiveness of sins;" for in the earliest creeds of several churches, at least, the article on "the Church" was not placed immediately after the Holy Ghost, but later, nay in some instances in the last clause of all, as is clear from the texts of several fathers and confessions, which have been adduced by our very learned author in this sixth chapter. Now that "the forgiveness of sins" was procured by Christ, and is to be imparted, through baptism, to those who believe in His name, both Peter and Paul expressly declared to Jews and Gentiles alike in their first cateche-

¹ *ὑπομνήματα*.

² editum.

tical discourses. "Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins," says Peter in his first sermon at Jerusalem, Acts ii. 38: from which, I would remark in passing, the article of the ancient Creed of Jerusalem, which has been quoted above in p. 48, col. 2, [p. 115,] "And in one baptism of repentance for the remission of sins," seems to have been formed. He also concludes his first discourse to the Gentiles with this doctrine of the forgiveness of sins, saying, "To Him (*i.e.* Christ) give all the prophets witness, that through His name, whosoever believeth in Him shall receive remission of sins." Acts x. 43. Paul in like manner says, Acts xiii. 38, 39, "Be it known unto you, therefore, men and brethren, that through this man is preached unto you the forgiveness of sins; and by Him all that believe are justified from all things, from which ye could not be justified by the law of Moses." And no wonder; for our Saviour Himself after His resurrection had expressly said to the Apostles, that "repentance and remission of sins should be preached in His name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem." Luke xxiv. 47. As therefore the Apostles and their successors expressly delivered this sum of the preaching of the gospel, and fruit¹ of the whole economy of the Son of God, set forth in the foregoing words of the creed, in their catechetical discourses, so it is not to be doubted that the catechumens in their turn², did, previously to their baptism, give it back as it were³ in the same words in the symbol of their belief. And that some indeed now and then did this at the very first original of the Christian Church, is allowed by the author of the History of the Apostles' Creed already referred to; but he maintains that the constant mention of the forgiveness of sins in the creed obtained first in the time of S. Cyprian, on account of heretics, especially the Novatians, who denied that the remitting of grievous sins⁴ committed after baptism had been placed in the power of the Church. But it makes against this conjecture, that the article in question respecting the forgiveness of sins was expressed in the creed of the Novatians itself, as S. Cyprian testifies in Epistle lxxvi. Pamel. lxx. Oxon. or book i. Epistle 6, where he thus writes^p; "But if any one allege this objection, and say, that Novatian holds the same rule that the Catholic Church holds, baptizes with the same creed as we also do; let him who thinks that this objection may be alleged know, in the first place, that we and the schismatics have not the same rule of

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¹ fructum.

² vicissim.

³ quasi reddidisse.

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⁴ indulgentiam criminum.

^p Quod si aliquis illud opponit, ut dicat eandem Novatianum legem tenere, quam Catholica Ecclesia teneat,

eodem symbolo quo et nos baptizare; sciat quisquis hoc opponendum putat, primum non esse unam nobis et schis-

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¹ recensio-
nibus.

² ingeni-
ose.

the creed, nor the same interrogation. For when they say, ‘Dost thou believe in remission of sins and eternal life through the holy Church?’ they lie in their interrogation, for they have no church, &c.” But it does not seem likely that the Novatians themselves would have inserted or retained in their confession of faith “the remission of sins by the holy Church,” unless they had seen that it was already received into all the creeds of other Churches. Moreover, if this profession of forgiveness of sins had not been used previously in some Churches, but had been inserted into their creeds at last to exclude the rigid views of the Novatians, in that case there would have met us the mention of “sins committed after the reception of the sacraments,” or some other similar expression. But, on the contrary, we find in all either the expression, “forgiveness of sins” in general, or “one baptism of repentance,” or simply “one baptism for the remission of sins;” the former of which does not contradict the error of the Novatians at all; while the latter might have seemed in some measure even to favour it. As for the learned writer’s objection, that no mention is made of the remission of sins in the texts ¹ of the creed by Irenæus, Tertullian, or Origen, I answer briefly, that they against whom these fathers alleged the apostolical rule of faith, did not deny the forgiveness of sins, or at any rate, that such an error of theirs was unknown to them, and therefore they did not think it requisite to mention this article. However, both Irenæus and Tertullian did allude to this very article in their writings, as our reverend author has ably ² shewn in §§ 7 and 13 of the sixth book.

10. “The resurrection of the dead” was inserted in the creed from the very beginning of the Christian religion, as the very learned author of the History of the Apostles’ Creed thinks, pp.[389,] 390. Now I have some little doubt about the very earliest age, for the catechetical discourses both of St. Peter and St. Paul end with “the remission of sins,” Acts ii. x. and xiii. Nor does St. Paul’s sermon at Athens expressly mention the resurrection of the dead, but only the raising of Jesus Christ from the dead, Acts xvii. 31. Although his audience seem to have inferred from his words the resurrection of the dead generally; for it is added in the following verse, 32; “Now when they heard of the resurrection of the dead, some mocked, and others said, We will hear thee again of this

maticis symboli legem, neque eandem interrogationem. Nam cum dicunt, “Credis remissionem peccatorum et vitam æternam per sanctam eccle-

siam?” mentiuntur in interrogatione, quando non habeant ecclesiam, &c.—[Ep. lxxvi. p. 154.]

matter." From this, as it seems to me, we must seek the explanation of what is said of St. Paul in verse 18, that "he preached unto them Jesus and the resurrection," *i. e.* "the resurrection of Jesus," or, "which began in Jesus;" as it is written of the rest of the Apostles, Acts iv. 33, "And with great power gave the Apostles witness of the resurrection of the Lord Jesus." In addition to this, when certain arose among the Corinthians, who said, "that there is no resurrection of the dead," 1 Cor. xv. 12, the Apostle recalls to their memory what he had preached among them, and tells them, that he had delivered unto them "amongst the first points" (*ἐν πρώτοις*), the death and the resurrection of Christ, verses 3, sqq. ; and from that he proves the resurrection of all believers; but he does not say one word to intimate, that he had previously taught them this doctrine, and that they had themselves cast away this deposit entrusted to them. In like manner, in 1 Thess. iv. 13, he writes; "But I would not have you to be ignorant, brethren, concerning them which are asleep, that ye sorrow not, even as others which have no hope. For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with Him." As if they had been hitherto ignorant of this, so that it was now needful for him to deliver this to them as a corollary derived from the resurrection of Jesus Christ, which had been previously preached to them. And St. Luke's words are certainly worthy of notice, when he writes thus of St. Paul's preaching at Thessalonica, in Acts xvii. 2, 3; "For three sabbath days he reasoned with them out of the Scriptures, opening and alleging, that Christ must needs have suffered and risen again from the dead, and that this Jesus, whom I preach unto you, is Christ." Here the resurrection of Christ indeed is mentioned, but not of believers in general. St. Paul, therefore, does not appear immediately from the beginning to have delivered to the catechumens the resurrection of the dead among the first rudiments of the faith. When, however, it was publicly impugned by some and called in question by others, then indeed I have no doubt that it was added as an appendix to the other articles of the creed. And hence, as I conjecture, it came to pass that the Apostle, in Hebrews vi. 2, mentioned in the last place "the resurrection of the dead and eternal judgment" among the fundamental articles indeed of the Christian doctrine, but yet distinct from "faith toward God" and "the doctrine of baptisms." But, as "eternal judgment" is there joined with "the resurrection of the dead," I gather, that the article on the state of "eternal life" after the last judgment had, in some Churches at least, been already added to the creed.

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¹ primo
omnium.² sponsio.

11. Finally, with respect to the clause on the Church, I conceive that it was added to, or inserted in, the creed last of all, not only because it occupies the last place in the Novatian formula, alleged by Cyprian, Epistle lxxvi., and in the Confession of Arius and Euzoius, mentioned above, § 9, [p. 120,] but also because no mention is made of it either in the catechetical discourses, or the Epistles of the Apostles; so that this article seems to have been added to the others toward the end of the first or the beginning of the second century, on account of the heretics and schismatics, after they began to hold their meetings apart from the orthodox Church. For in the time of Tertullian believers already professed in their creed "the Holy Church," as is evident from the very earliest¹ of his works, that on Baptism², in which he writes; "But as both the attesting of faith and the promise² of salvation is pledged under Three, there is of necessity besides mention made of the Church; for where Three are, that is, the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, there is the Church, which is the body of the Three." Compare another passage of Tertullian, which has been quoted already in § 7 of this book vi. [p. 118.] Respecting "the communion of saints" I need say nothing, since it is clear that the mention of it did not occur in the creed before the fourth century after Christ.

12. There remains but one article more, which I purposely passed over, that on "Christ's descent into hell:" the genuine meaning of which has been so learnedly explained by the author of the History of the Apostles' Creed, so often referred to, that nothing better could be expected from the most accomplished divine. Now, towards the end of his long Dissertation, chap. iv., he expresses his opinion, that the said article was inserted in the creed in opposition to the Arians and Apollinarians, who denied that Christ had soul or spirit, because the holy fathers used the following argument in refuting the said heretics:—Christ descended into hell, either in respect of His divinity, or in respect of His soul, or in respect of His body. But it is absurd to ascribe a descent into hell either to His divinity or to His body; it must therefore be determined, that He descended in respect of His soul, and, in consequence, that He was endowed with a soul. There are, however, these objections to this view, viz. that in no confession is Christ said to have been in hell, in respect of His soul, but simply to have descended into hell, or into the places under the earth: and that this article occurs in some

¹ Cum autem sub tribus et testatio fidei, et sponsio salutis pignerentur, necessario adjicitur ecclesie mentio;

quoniam ubi tres, id est, Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, ibi ecclesia, quæ trium corpus est.—[c. 6. p. 226.]

of the formularies of faith of the Arians themselves, and in others of earlier date than the Apollinarian sect. Hence it rather appears to me to have been added to the creed some time before, on account of the Valentinians and the Marcionites. For these heretics, according to the statement of Irenæus, *Against Heresies*, v. 31, p. 450, col. 2^r, say, that "as soon as they are dead, they ascend above the heavens and the Demiurgus, and go to the Mother, or to Him, whom they themselves invent, the Father." And a little afterwards, p. 451, col. 1^s; "They say, that this our present world is the lower place; and that their inner man, leaving the body here, ascends into the region above the heavens." This fancy¹ of theirs about the lower place is touched on by Tertullian in his work *On the Soul*, chap. lv. when he says^t; "By us the lower place is believed to be not a bare cavity², or a sink of the world open to the air³, but a vast space in the hollow⁴ and depth of the earth, and a profundity⁵ hidden in its very bowels." To prove, therefore, the existence of a lower region beneath the earth, and the descent into it of the souls of the faithful, the holy fathers derived an argument from the descent of Christ Himself into hell, on which Irenæus says, in the passage just now cited^u; "If these things were as they say, it is plain that the Lord Himself, in whom they profess to believe, would not have accomplished His resurrection on the third day, but expiring on the cross, would at once, as is plain, have departed, going upwards, leaving His body to the earth. As it is, however, He stayed⁶ three days⁶ where the dead were, as the prophet says of Him, &c. . . . And the Apostle also says; 'But that He ascended, what is it but that He also descended into the lower parts of the earth?' This David likewise said, prophesying of Him; 'And Thou hast delivered My soul from the lowermost hell.' . . . If the Lord, then, observed the law of the dead, that He might become the first-begotten from the dead, and abode until the third day in the lower parts of the earth; and

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¹ commentum.

² cavositas.
³ subdivalis.

⁴ fossa.
⁵ abstrusa.

⁶ conversatus est.

^r Simul atque mortui fuerint, dicunt se supergredi cœlos et Demiurgum, et ire ad crucem, vel ad eum, qui ab ipsis affingitur, Patrem.—[p. 330.]

^s Dicunt, inferos quidem esse hunc mundum, qui sit secundum nos; interiorem autem hominem ipsorum, derelinquentem hic corpus, in supercœlestem ascendere locum.—[Ibid.]

^t Nobis inferi non nuda cavositas, nec subdivalis aliqua mundi sentina creduntur; sed in fossa terræ et in alto vastitas, et in ipsis visceribus ejus abstrusa profunditas.—[p. 305.]

^u Si hæc ita essent, quemadmodum dicunt, ipse utique Dominus, in quem

se dicunt credere, non in tertia die fecisset resurrectionem; sed super crucem exspirans, confestim utique abiisset sursum, relinquens corpus terræ. Nunc autem tribus diebus conversatus est, ubi erant mortui, quemadmodum propheta ait de eo, &c. . . . Sed et apostolus ait, "Ascendit autem, quid est, nisi quia et descendit in inferiora terræ?" Hoc et David in eum prophetans dixit, "Et eripuisti animam meam ex inferno inferiori." . . . Si ergo Dominus legem mortuorum servavit, ut fieret primogenitus a mortuis, et commoratus usque in tertiam diem in inferioribus terræ; post deinde sur-

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¹ abierit,
walked,
E. V. Ps.
xxiii. 4.

² corpora-
liter.

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³ σωματι-
κῶς.

⁴ intimo
et interno.

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⁵ compotes
sui.
⁶ cubito
pellere.

then afterwards rising again in the flesh, that He might shew to His disciples even the print of the nails, so ascended to the Father; how are they not ashamed, who say, that this world is the lower place," &c., as above. "For whereas the Lord 'walked' in the midst of the shadow of death,' where the souls of the dead were, then rose again afterwards with His body², and after His resurrection was taken up; it is manifest that the souls of His disciples also, for whose sake the Lord also performed these works, shall go away to an invisible place appointed for them by God, and shall tarry there until the resurrection, awaiting resurrection; then having received their bodies again, and having risen again perfectly, that is, with their bodies³, just as the Lord also rose again, shall so come unto the sight of God." Tertullian uses the same argument, writing thus in the passage before mentioned^x; "We read that three days of death were spent by Christ in the heart of the earth, that is, in an internal recess, far within⁴, and covered in the earth itself, and inclosed within it, and built above the still lower abysses. Now if Christ [being] God, [yet,] because He was also man, died according to the Scriptures, and according to the same was buried, [and thus] satisfied this law also, fulfilling the form of human death in hell; and ascended not into the higher parts of the heavens before He had descended into the lower parts of the earth, there to make the patriarchs and the prophets partakers of Himself⁵, you have to believe hell to be a subterranean region, and to keep at arms' length⁶ those who through excess of pride suppose the souls of the faithful

gens in carne, ut etiam fixuras clavorum ostenderet discipulis, sic ascendit ad Patrem; quomodo non confundantur, qui dicunt, inferos quidem esse hunc mundum, &c. . . . Cum enim Dominus "in medio umbræ mortis abierit," ubi animæ mortuorum erant, post deinde corporaliter resurrexit, et post resurrectionem assumptus est, manifestum est, quia et discipulorum ejus, propter quos et hæc operatus est Dominus, animæ abibunt in invisibilem locum, definitum eis a Deo, et ibi usque ad resurrectionem commorabuntur, sustinentes resurrectionem: post recipientes corpora, et perfecte resurgentes, hoc est corporaliter, quemadmodum et Dominus resurrexit, sic venient ad conspectum Dei." [The Greek of the last portion is extant: αἱ ψυχὰς ἀπέρχονται εἰς [ἄρα] τὸν τόπον τὸν ἀρισμένον αὐταῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, κακεῖ μεχρὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως

φοιτῶσι περιμένονσαι τὴν ἀνάστασιν· ἔπειτα ἀπολαβοῦσαι τὰ σώματα, καὶ ὁλοκλήρως ἀναστῆσαι, τοῦτέστι, σωματικῶς, καθὼς καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἀνέστη, οὕτως ἐλεύσονται εἰς τὴν ὕψιν τοῦ Θεοῦ.— p. 330.]

^x Christo in corde terræ triduum mortis legimus expunctum, id est, in recessu intimo et interno, et in ipsa terra operto, et intra ipsam clauso, et inferioribus adhuc abyssis superstructo. Quod si Christus Deus, quia et homo, mortuus secundum Scripturas, et sepultus secus easdem, huic quoque legi satisfecit, forma humanæ mortis apud inferos functus; nec ante ascendit in sublimiora cælorum quam descendit in inferiora terrarum, ut illic patriarchas et prophetas compotes sui faceret, habes et regionem inferum subterranean credere, et illos cubito pellere, qui satis superbe non putant animas fidelium inferis dignas; servi

too good for hell¹; servants above their Lord, and disciples above their Master, disdaining, if perchance [it be] in Abraham's bosom, to receive the consolation of awaiting the resurrection." The heresy of the Valentinians and the Marcionites, therefore, rather than that of the Arians and the Apollinarians, seems to have been the cause that the article on Christ's descent into hell was inserted into the creed; unless any one haply would prefer to affirm, that the first instructions² of the Apostles themselves gave occasion to their catechumens to express occasionally in their confessions of faith, that Christ descended into hell. For the prince of the Apostles himself, in his first sermon at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost, very plainly set forth this article, when he said, "that His soul was not left in hell, neither His flesh did see corruption," Acts ii. 31.

¹ inferi,
(through-
out.)

² cateche-
ses.

13. From all, then, which has been hitherto advanced, if duly considered, I think it becomes very clear, that all the articles of the Apostles' Creed, except that on the communion of saints, and perhaps that concerning the Church, and also that on Christ's descent into hell, were expressed by the early Christians in their solemn confessions of faith, in the very age and by the authority, or at any rate with the approval, of the holy Apostles, and that consequently the creed, as to the substance of most of its articles, is rightly called *the Apostles' Creed*, and was justly put forth as a tradition received from the Apostles and their followers by Irenæus in the passages already adduced in page 63, col. 1, [p. 148,] to say nothing of other more recent fathers. And indeed it was hardly, if at all, possible, that so many Churches, in parts of the world so separate, should so have agreed in a form of faith, and in so many articles of it, unless it had gone forth in such a form³ amongst them all, from an authority which all acknowledged. The reason, indeed, why the confessions of individual Churches differ as to words and phrases, is, because "the symbol of our faith and hope," as Jerome wrote, Epistle lxi. chap. 9^v, "which was delivered to us by the Apostles, was not written with paper and ink, but on the fleshly tables of the heart." So that it was open to each to express what he meant in what words he would. Notwithstanding, I should be loth to take on myself the proof of that *tradition* which Ruffinus mentions in his Exposition of the Creed, when he writes thus of the twelve Apostles^v; "Being about to depart one from another, they first establish in common a rule

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³ talis.

super dominum, et discipuli super magistrum, aspernati, si forte in Abrahamæ sinu, expectandæ resurrectionis solatium capere.—[Ibid.]

^v Symbolum fidei et spei nostræ, quod ab apostolis est traditum, non

scriptum fuit in charta et atramento, sed in tabulis cordis carnalibus.—[Lib. cont. Joann. Hieros. § 28. t. ii. col. 435.]

^v Discessuri ab invicem normam prius futuræ sibi prædicationis in

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for their own future preaching, lest they should haply teach those whom they invited to believe in Christ, anything different, when they were separated one from the others. All, therefore, being in one place, and being filled with the Holy Ghost, they compose this short standard of their own future preaching, by putting together in one what each thought, and decide that it should be given to believers as a rule;" although with regard to the earliest outlines of the Apostles' Creed, as sketched in the catechetical discourses of St. Peter and St. Paul, it is not improbable that some such thing was done. But we regard as nought the distribution of the twelve articles of the creed among the twelve Apostles, mentioned by the author of the 115th sermon *De Tempore*, in the tenth volume of the works of St. Augustine^a, and other conceits of a like character, of which it would not be suitable to say anything here.

commune constituunt, ne forte alius ab aliis abducti diversum aliquid his, qui ad fidem Christi invitabantur, exponerent. Omnes ergo in uno positi, et Spiritu S. repleti, breve istud futuræ sibi prædicationis indicium, conferendo in unum quod sentiebat

unusquisque, componunt, atque hanc credentibus dandam esse regulam statuunt.—[p. cxviii.]

^a [Spurious. Sermon. ccxli. tom. v. Append. col. 395. See also Sermon. ccxl. col. 394.]

ON THE WELL-KNOWN PASSAGE IN JUSTIN MARTYR'S DIALOGUE WITH TRYPHO
THE JEW.

1. THERE remains the other argument, by which Episcopus^a endeavours to prove his assertion; "The second argument," he says, "by which I prove the antecedent is this; it is clearly evident from Justin, a very early writer (for he flourished one hundred and fifty years after the birth of Christ), and a martyr for the Christian religion, that the Christian Churches of those times not only did not judge the determining and the professing of this particular mode [of the Sonship of Christ] to be necessary to salvation; but even kept up communion with those who denied this mode of filiation, and professed their belief that Jesus Christ was only 'a mere man' (*ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον*), a human being [born] of human beings¹, and made the Christ by election. The passage of Justin from which this is clear, is extant in his Dialogue with Trypho the Jew, which may be seen quoted in the Apology of the Remonstrants, towards the end of their Reply to the Censure, chap. 111, and drawn out at large and defended in our Answer of the Remonstrants to the specimen of calumnies, &c. of the four Leyden Professors; to which writings, not to go over the ground again, we refer you." Thus Episcopus.

¹ hominem
ex homi-
nibus.

2. I will here adduce the passage entire, not mutilated and curtailed as it is by the Remonstrants in their Apology. Thus, then, does Justin argue in the passage in question^b; "Nevertheless, Trypho, the position that this² is the Christ of God does not at once fall to the ground³, though I should be unable to shew that He both pre-existed as Son of the Maker of all things, being God, and also was born man of⁴ the

² τοῦτον,
for τοιοῦ-
τον.

³ ἀπὸλλυ-
ται.

⁴ διὰ.

^a P. 340.

^b ἤδη μὲν τοι, ὦ Τρύφων, οὐκ ἀπόλυται τὸ τοιοῦτον (lege τοῦτον) εἶναι Χριστὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, εἰ μὴ ἀποδείξει μὴ δύ-

νωμαι, ὅτι καὶ προὔπηρχεν υἱὸς τοῦ ποιητοῦ τῶν ὅλων, Θεὸς ὢν, καὶ γεγέννηται ἄνθρωπος διὰ τῆς παρθένου. ἀλλ' ἐκ παντὸς ἀποδεικνυμένου, ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ

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CHURCH.¹ ἀλλ' ἐκ
παντός
ἀποδεικνυ-
μίνου.² ἐξ ἀνθρώ-
πων.³ ἡμετέρου
γένους.

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Virgin ; but, since it has been fully demonstrated¹ that He is the Christ, the Christ of God, whosoever He may be, if I should fail in proving that He preexisted, and vouchsafed, according to the will of the Father, to be born a man of like passions with ourselves, having flesh, it is only right for you to say that I have been mistaken in this particular, but not to deny that this is the Christ, even though He should

seem to have been born a human being of human beings², and be demonstrated to have been made the Christ by election. For, my friends, there are some of our race³ who acknowledge Him to be Christ, but affirm that He was a

human being born of human beings ; with whom I do not agree, nor would most people say so, who are of the same opinion as myself^c ; for we are commanded by Christ Himself not to be guided by the doctrines of men, but by those which were proclaimed by the blessed prophets, and were taught by Himself." I have in this passage differed from the translator of Justin in the rendering of some other words that are less important, and especially of those words, ἀλλ' ἐκ παντός ἀποδεικνυμένου, ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Χριστός ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὅστις οὗτος ἔσται, which that translator thus interprets ; *Præterquam ex eo omni, quo probatur hunc esse Christum illum Dei, quod talem Eum fore præostensum sit* : " Besides from all that, by which it is proved that He is the Christ of God, because it was shewn beforehand that He would be such." This version is not in any way agreeable to the Greek text, nor is the sense good. For, from what goes

Χριστός, ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὅστις οὗτος ἔσται, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποδεικνύω, ὅτι προὔπηρχε, καὶ γεννηθῆναι ἀνθρώπος ὁμοιοπαθῆς ἡμῖν, σάρκα ἔχων, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Πατρὸς βουλὴν ὑπέμεινε, ἐν τούτῳ πεπλανησθῆναι με μόνον λέγειν δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀρνεῖσθαι ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Χριστός, ἐὰν φαίνεται ὡς ἀνθρώπων ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γεννηθεὶς, καὶ ἐκλογῇ γενόμενος εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν εἶναι ἀποδεικνύεται. καὶ γὰρ εἰσὶ τινες, ὧ φίλοι, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡμετέρου γένους, ὁμολογοῦντες αὐτὸν Χριστὸν εἶναι, ἀνθρώπον δὲ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γενόμενον ἀποφαινόμενοι· οἷς οὐ συντίθεμαι. οὐδ' ἂν πλείστοι ταῦτά μοι δοξάσαντες εἴποιεν· ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἀνθρωπεῖος διδάγμασι κεκελεύσμεθα ἢ π' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ πείθεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς διὰ τῶν μακαρίων προφητῶν κηρυχθεῖσι, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ διδασθεῖσι.—Dialogue with Trypho, p. 267. [§ 48. p. 144.]

^c [In the translation of these words, οὐδ' ἂν πλείστοι ταῦτά μοι δοξάσαντες εἴποιεν, Bp. Bull followed the common Latin version, "neque sane plerique, eadem mecum sentientes, illud dixerint." On this Dr. Burton observes ; "It is strange that Bull followed this incorrect translation. Without doubt, the words are to be translated as we find them in the Benedictine edition ; 'quibus ego non assentior nec assentir, etiam si maxima pars, quæ mecum consentit, idem diceret.'" With all deference to these authorities, Bp. Bull's translation has, notwithstanding, been followed, as it appears to be the only one which the Greek as it now stands admits ; the other would require οὐδ' ἂν εἰ πλείστοι. See below, Append. § 3. p. 190.]

before it is clear that Justin's meaning is certainly this; "If only I have given solid proof in other ways out of the prophets that our Jesus is the Christ of God, whatsoever according to their predictions [the Christ] was to be, (whether, that is, He was to be God, born man of a virgin, which I with the Catholic Church believe, or simply a man born of human parents, which you, Trypho, and your kinsmen the Jews suppose,) even though I should not be able to shew that He is the Son of God, and made man of a virgin, there is yet no reason why you should therefore deny that He is the Christ Himself, who was promised and foretold by the prophets."

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§ 2, 3.

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3. I am sure that there is nothing in these words of Justin, from which Episcopius or the Remonstrants can prove either that the Church in Justin's time, or that Justin himself, did not hold that the doctrine of the divinity of the Son was necessary to be believed in order to salvation, still less that they kept up communion with those who denied that doctrine. Indeed, if the Remonstrants prove anything from this passage, they prove too much, which is a certain sign of a very bad argument. For the dogmatists who are here alluded to by Justin, not only affirmed that our Saviour was a mere man, but that He was born a human being of human beings, that is, from the sexual intercourse of man and woman in the ordinary manner of human beings. From this, therefore, it will follow, if the Remonstrants argue correctly from this passage, that Justin, and the Church in the time of Justin, kept up communion with those who, setting at nought¹ the authority of the holy evangelists, and despising the uniform and consentient tradition of the Apostolic and Catholic Church, dared to deny that Christ as man was born of the Virgin Mary; which, if any one could bring himself seriously to think, he ought simply to be regarded as insane². I have not indeed yet seen The Reply of the Remonstrants to the Specimen of the Calumnies, &c. of the four Leyden Professors; so that I cannot know for certain how they have there supported their assertion out of this passage of Justin; and therefore am obliged at present to form conjectures³.

¹ *susque
deque
habita.*

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² *ad Anti-
cyras plane
relegandus
est.*

^d See, however, the Appendix to this chapter, in which the arguments of this Reply, which Bp. Bull after-

wards saw, are confuted at length. —
GRABE.

4. Did they then suppose that what they maintain is proved from Justin's saying, that the position that Jesus is the promised Christ is not lost or destroyed, though it should be impossible to shew that He is God, and born as man of a Virgin? Yet it is most evident that Justin in this passage is using the *argumentum ad hominem*, as it is called, than which nothing is more frequent in discussions of this sort. For Justin had already begun to shew that the prophets had foretold concerning Christ, that being before the worlds the Son of God, and God, He was at length to be born man of a virgin. Afterwards, however, when he had digressed into a discussion on certain other points, Trypho recalls him to finish his former argument, saying^e; "And now we have heard what you think of these points: resuming, therefore, the argument at the point where you broke it off, bring it to a close; for it seems to me to be a paradox, and one which cannot possibly be proved. For your saying, that this Christ preexisted, being God before the worlds, and then endured to become man and to be born, and that [192] He is not a man [born] of man, appears to me to be not only paradoxical, but even absurd." And Justin, as Trypho requests, then resumes the discussion, and pursues it at some length, proving very fully that the Christ foretold by the prophets both would be God, and would be born as man of a virgin, p. 274 [150], &c. Meanwhile, and to stop for the present in some degree the mouth of his cavilling opponent, he gives him a twofold answer. He first sharply reflects on his blindness and obstinacy, and that of the Jewish nation, inasmuch as they rejected, as incredible, absurd, and foolish, the statement or doctrine concerning Christ [as being] the Son of God, and God, who was to assume flesh of the Virgin, although this doctrine was taught even in the Old Testament in no obscure terms; and in consequence preferred on this point to believe the wild dreams of their Rabbis, rather than the word of God Himself by His inspired prophets. "I am

^e καὶ περὶ τούτων ὅσα φρονεῖς ἀκηκό-
αμεν. ἀναλαβὼν οὖν τὸν λόγον, ὅθεν
ἐπαύσω, πέραινε παραδόξος τις γὰρ ποτε,
καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος ὅλως ἀποδεχθῆναι
δοκεῖ μοι εἶναι. τὸ γὰρ λέγειν σε, προϋ-
πάρχειν Θεὸν ὕψτα πρὸ αἰώνων τούτων

τὸν Χριστὸν, εἰτα καὶ γεννηθῆναι ἄνθρω-
πον γενόμενον ὑπομείναι, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ
ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἀνθρώπου, οὐ μόνον παρὰ-
δόξον δοκεῖ μοι εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μωρόν.—
[§ 48. p. 143.]

aware," he says¹, "that this statement seems paradoxical, especially to those of your nation, who have never been willing either to understand or to do the things of God, but those of your own teachers, as God Himself loudly complains¹." It is ¹ βοῶν. easy, then, to conjecture (to observe it by the way) to how much greater blindness Justin must have thought those persons to be abandoned and condemned by God, who, while professing to be Christians, and living in the clear light of the Gospel, (compared to which at any rate ancient prophecy was but like [193] "a light shining in a dark place²,") have with the like obstinacy rejected that doctrine. Surely, if Episcopus and the Remonstrants had carefully read these words of Justin, which immediately precede the passage they quoted, they would never, I should think, have regarded that passage as making anything in their favour. But to proceed.

5. Justin next replies by confuting Trypho on principles acknowledged by him, in the passage quoted by the Remonstrants, to the following effect; "Nevertheless, Trypho, the position that this is the Christ of God, does not at once fall to the ground," &c.; as though he should say, Even if I could not prove from the prophets (although I have, indeed, already proved it in part, and shall presently after demonstrate it more fully and most effectively) that the Christ both would be God, and for the sake of our salvation would be born as man of a virgin, yet I should not on that account altogether fail in my cause, at least with you Jews; for, consistently with your own principles, you cannot possibly on this ground deny that our Jesus is the Christ; since you expect no other, as the Christ or Messiah, foretold and promised by the prophets, than one who is a mere man, born of human parents. This is acknowledged, indeed, by Trypho himself afterwards^h; "We all," he says, "expect that the Christ will be a human being, [born] of human [parents]²." It is therefore plain that Justin in this place is arguing, not from his own view, nor from the truth of the thing itself, but from the hypothesis of the Jews, with whom he is disputing. Indeed, Justin

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¹ οἷδ' ὅτι παράδοξος ὁ λόγος δοκεῖ εἶναι, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους ὑμῶν, οἵτινες τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὔτε νοῆσαι οὔτε ποιῆσαι ποτὲ βεβούλησθε, ἀλλὰ τὰ τῶν διδασκάλων ὑμῶν, ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ Θεὸς

βοῶν.—[§ 49. p. 144.]

² 2 Peter i. 19.

^h πάντες ἡμεῖς τὸν Χριστὸν ἑνθρώπιν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων προσδοκῶμεν γενήσεσθαι. —p. 268. [§ 49. p. 145.]

² ἀνθρώπων ἐξ ἀνθρώπων.

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¹ ex eo,
quod, &c.

could not, without the grossest contradiction and palpable subversion of a great part of what he had earnestly contended for in this Dialogue, have affirmed or conceded that it does not really follow from the fact¹ of Jesus Christ not being very God, born as man of a virgin, that He is not the Christ of God, who was foreshewn by the prophets; for in his work he is constantly and earnestly engaged in proving that it was most plainly predicted by the prophets concerning the Christ of God, both that He would Himself be certainly God, and would assume flesh from a virgin. Moreover, in another place Justin expressly teaches that no one could have been equal to the office of Christ the Mediator, unless He were the very Son of God Himself, and therefore God. There is this remarkable passage in his Epistle to Diognetusⁱ; “He Himself gave up His own Son as a ransom for us, the Holy for sinners, the Innocent for the wicked, the Just for the unjust, the Incorruptible for the corrupt, the Immortal for the mortal. For what else than His righteousness could have covered our sins? By whom was it possible for us, who are sinful and impious, to be justified, but only by the Son of God? O the sweet exchange! O the work past searching out!” According, therefore, to Justin’s opinion, it was not possible for any to make satisfaction for our sins to God the Father (and this is the primary office of our Saviour Christ) but “God’s own incorruptible and immortal Son.” Now,

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what Son of God Justin designates by these epithets, is known to all who have even the very slightest acquaintance with the holy martyr’s writings. Unquestionably, he uniformly means by them that Son of God who was begotten of God the Father before every creature, who in the creation of all things was present with Him, as His Counsellor¹ and Fellow-worker², who at length at the fore-appointed time came down from heaven, having become man for the salvation of man. And not unlike to these are the statements which we have in this very Dialogue with Trypho, pp. 322, 323^k, where, having

¹ σύμβουλος.² συνεργός.

ⁱ αὐτὸς τὸν ἴδιον υἱὸν ἀπέδοτο λύτρον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, τὸν ἅγιον ὑπὲρ ἀνόμων, τὸν ἄκακον ὑπὲρ τῶν κακῶν, τὸν δίκαιον ὑπὲρ τῶν ὀδίκων, τὸν ἀφθαρτον ὑπὲρ τῶν φθαρτῶν, τὸν ἀθάνατον ὑπὲρ τῶν θνητῶν. τί γὰρ ἄλλο τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν ἡδυνήθη καλύψαι, ἢ ἐκείνου δικαιοσύνη;

ἐν τίνι δικαιωθῆναι δυνατόν τοὺς ἀνόμους ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀσεβεῖς, ἢ ἐν μόνῳ τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ; ὃ τῆς γλυκείας ἀνταλλαγῆς, ὃ τῆς ἀνεξίχνιστου δημιουργίας, κ. λ.—
p. 500. [§ 9. p. 238.]

^k [§ 96. p. 192.]

first given a clear statement of the Catholic doctrine, (both respecting the universal guilt of the human race, from that well-known passage, "Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things that are written in the book of the law to do them," and also respecting the satisfaction which was effected¹ by our crucified Jesus taking on Himself "the curses" (κατάρας) of all men,) he then adds, that it had been foretold by God, which the Jews were quite ignorant of, that¹ "This is He who was in being before all things, and is the eternal Priest of God, and King, and would afterwards become the Christ²." In these words he intimates that God the Father willed and decreed that the sins of mankind should not be expiated^m except by a High Priest, who was in being before all things, and is eternal. Compare also what he says from Psalm cx. of Christ the High Priest after the order of Melchisedec, in pp. 250, 251, of this same Dialogueⁿ. Nor was this a peculiar opinion of Justin, but the common sentiment of the primitive fathers, who all with one voice taught that it was altogether necessary that the Saviour of men and Mediator with God should Himself be both God and man; as I could have shewn by a great abundance of testimonies, if that were now the point under consideration. At

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¹ præstita.

² or, "and Christ."

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¹ τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν πρὸ πάντων ὄντα, καὶ αἰώνιον τοῦ Θεοῦ ἱερέα, καὶ βασιλέα, καὶ Χριστὸν μέλλοντα γίνεσθαι.—[Ibid. The last two words probably belong to what goes before this extract.]

^m That the human race could not have been freed from the corruption contracted by the fall of Adam, except by the incarnation of Him, who was in His own nature Life, i.e. God, or the essential Son of God, Justin expressly taught in an Oration, or part of an Oration, against the Gentiles, which has been lost. From it Leon-tius, in his book ii. against the Euty-chians and the Nestorians, has quoted the following words; "The corruption having accrued to us by nature, it was necessary that He who would save us should have done away with that substance which caused corruption. But it was impos-sible that this should be brought to pass, unless That which is by nature Life were joined to that which had received corruption; [thereby] oblite-rating the corruption, and preserving im-mortal for the time to come that

which had received (corruption). On this account it was necessary that the Word should come to be in the body, in order that He might liberate us from the death of that corruption which accrues to us by nature." (φύσει δὲ τῆς φθορᾶς προσγενομένης, ἀναγκάων ἦν ὅτι σῶσαι βουλόμενος ἢ τὴν φθοροποιὸν οὐσίαν ἀφανίσας. τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἦν ἑτέρως γενέσθαι, εἰ μήπερ ἡ κατὰ φύσιν ζωὴ προσεπλάκη τῷ τὴν φθορὰν δεξαμένῳ, ἀφανίζουσα μὲν τὴν φθορὰν, ἀθάνατον δὲ τοῦ λοιποῦ τὸ δεξαμένον (φθορὰν) διατηροῦσα. Διὰ τοῦτο τὸν λόγον ἐδέξεν ἐν σώματι γενέσθαι, ἵνα τοῦ θανάτου τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ἡμῶς φθορᾶς ἐλευθερώσῃ.) This fragment I have given entire in Greek, as copied from a MS. in the Bodleian Library, in tom. i. of my *Spicilegium Patrum*, sæc. iii. p. 172; where I have also, in p. 173, added in a note the parallel words of Irenæus, quoted in the text by our reverend author.—GRABE. [See Justin's Works, Appendix, pp. 597, 598.—B.]

ⁿ [§ 33. p. 130.]

present, however, I will only allege two witnesses of the Catholic doctrine, but both very full to the point, one earlier than Justin, and the other nearly his contemporary. Ignatius, a bishop of the apostolic age, certainly affirms this very doctrine most clearly in the well-known passage in his Epistle to the Ephesians^o, which we have often quoted; “There is One Physician, fleshly and spiritual, made and not made, God in flesh, and true Life in death,” &c. It is plain that in the opinion of Ignatius, He alone who is Θεάνθρωπος, that is, God and man at once, was able to afford the medicine of salvation to our grievously sick and dying souls. On the other hand, Irenæus, who lived very near the time of Justin, urges and inculcates the same doctrine throughout, and especially unfolds it learnedly in book iii. chap. 20^p, where he writes thus (the Greek text of the passage is supplied to us by Theodoret); “He, therefore, united man to God: for unless *man* had vanquished the adversary of man, the enemy would not have been vanquished fairly¹; and again, unless God had given us salvation, we should not have possessed it securely; and if man had not been united to God, he would not have been able to partake of incorruption. For it was necessary that the Mediator between God and men should by His own relationship² to both bring the two together into friendship and concord, and present³ man to God, and make God known to men.” It was impossible, then, for Justin, or any other Catholic of that age, without doing violence to his own principle⁴, to allow that it did not really follow, from the opinion which held Jesus to be a mere man, that He is not the Christ. For on the principle, “Whosoever is Christ, He must necessarily be God,” (and it was the principle of Justin and all Catholics,) it is an absolutely necessary result from the opinion of those who deny that Jesus is God, that neither is He the Christ. It remains, then, for us to conclude that, in the passage in question, Justin is

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¹ δίκαιως.² οικειότη-
τος.³ παραστή-
σαι.⁴ salva
hypothesi.^o [See above, c. i. § 1. p. 4.]^p ἤνωσεν οὖν τὸν ἄνθρωπον τῷ Θεῷ. εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἄνθρωπος ἐνίκησεν τὸν ἀντίπαλον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, οὐκ ἂν δίκαιως ἐνίκηθῃ ὁ ἐχθρὸς· πάλιν τε εἰ μὴ ὁ Θεὸς ἐδώρησατο τὴν σωτηρίαν, οὐκ ἂν βεβαίως ἔσχομεν αὐτὴν· καὶ εἰ μὴ συνηνώθῃ ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῷ Θεῷ, οὐκ ἂν ἡδυνήθῃ με-

τασχεῖν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας. ἔδει γὰρ τὸν μεσίτην Θεοῦ τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων διὰ τῆς ἰδίας πρὸς ἑκατέρους οικειότητος εἰς φιλίαν καὶ ὁμόνοιαν τοὺς ἀμφοτέρους συναγαγεῖν, καὶ Θεῷ μὲν παραστήσαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀνθρώποις δὲ γνωρίσαι τὸν Θεόν.—[c. 18, 7. p. 211.]

arguing on the hypothesis of the Jews, with whom his dispute is, and who believed that Christ would be nothing more than a mere man.

CHAP. VII.
§ 5, 6.

6. But it may be objected further, that Justin very plainly [198] speaks of those “some,” who in his own time, while they acknowledged Jesus to be the Christ, yet denied both His divinity and His birth of a virgin, as though they were still in the communion of the Catholic Church and regarded as true Christians; for he says that they were ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡμετέρου γένους, “of our (that is, the Christian) race.” But this is nothing. For they who held this¹ might have been said by Justin to be “of our race,” i.e. the race of Christians; inasmuch as “they received Jesus, and boasted as though on this account they were Christians” (τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀποδεχόμενοι, ὡς παρὰ τοῦτο Χριστιανοὶ εἶναι αὐχοῦντες), as Origen says of the Ebionites, (whom Justin also seems to have had in his mind in this place, as we shall see afterwards,) in his work against Celsus, book v.^a This latter father again, in book viii. of the same work^r, treating of some other well-known heretics, speaks of them as, *τινὰς ὡς ἐν πλήθει πιστευόντων*, “some in a numerous body of persons who believe,” that is, who profess the faith of Christ. Thus, also, Justin himself in his second Apology addressed to Antoninus Pius, after speaking of the followers of Simon, Menander, and Marcion, (and they were the most abandoned of heretics,) goes on to say^s; “All who spring from these are called Christians; just in the same way as those who do not share in the same opinions with philosophers, have yet in common [with them] the name which is derived from philosophy.” If, indeed, in this place Justin had been in controversy with some sect of Christians, which differed from himself, and had said, by way of contradiction, that those, whose opinion respecting Christ as being a mere man he is describing, were “of our race;” it might then have been concluded, with a semblance of truth, that he himself regarded them as of his own communion, and consequently as true members of the Catholic Church. [199]

^a P. 272. [§ 61. p. 624.]

^r P. 387. [§ 14. p. 752. See the Def. Fid. Nic. ii. 9. § 2. p. 250.]

^s πάντες οἱ ἀπὸ τούτων ὁμώμενοι Χριστιανοὶ καλοῦνται, ἐν τρόπον καὶ οἱ

οὐ κοινοῦντες τῶν αὐτῶν δογμάτων τοῖς φιλοσόφοις, τὸ ἐπικατηγορούμενον ὄνομα τῆς φιλοσοφίας κοινὸν ἔχουσιν.— [Apol. i. 26. p. 59.]

But the state of the case is far otherwise. For in the passage in question, Justin is holding a discussion with Trypho and his fellows the Jews, avowed enemies of Christianity; from whom persons, professing the Christian religion, of what sect soever, might rightly be contradistinguished as being all of them included under the one class, or common designation of Christians. But when Justin is speaking of Christians who differed from himself on any question, and yet were in the communion of the Church, and held the rule of faith received in the Church, he is accustomed to express this distinctly. Thus, in this very Dialogue^t, referring to Catholic Christians who rejected the opinion of the Millenarians, which he himself embraced, he calls them, "Christians, who were of the pure and pious opinion" (τοὺς τῆς καθαρᾶς καὶ εὐσεβοῦς ὄντας Χριστιανούς γνώμης). Now if Justin had spoken thus of those who denied the divinity of Christ our Lord, the Remonstrants would indeed have had reason for self-congratulation because of the communion which Justin and the Church of Justin's time kept up with them. But it is quite an useless attempt on their part to go to prove this from the mere fact, that Justin designated those heterodox persons, as ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡμετέρου γένους, "of our race." But what if Justin did not even say this? For my own part, at any rate, I am most firmly persuaded, that it must be allowed that there is a false reading in this passage, which can be easily corrected by the change of a single letter; that is, by reading ὑμετέρου instead of ἡμετέρου; and, admitting this emendation, the clause will be, ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑμετέρου γένους, which must be translated, "your race," that is, the Jewish. Indeed, at the very beginning of the passage, which the Remonstrants quoted, there is an evident mistake of the copyist, who has added two letters of his own to a very short word,—writing τοιοῦτον instead of τοῦτον, as I observed in the margin; what wonder, then, if in the present instance he wrote ἡ for ὑ? The reasons which induce me to be decidedly of this opinion, are very much the following: 1. Wherever the phrase, οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους, "they who are of the race," occurs in this Dialogue, the word γένος is used, not metaphorically, but

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^t [§ 80. p. 177.]

in its proper meaning, for race or family; so that they are said to be οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους τινὸς, who are “of some certain race.” Thus, in the sentence which immediately precedes the passage cited, τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους ὑμῶν, means, “those who are of your race.” So again in the preceding page, οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους τοῦ ὑμετέρου, means, “those which are of your race,” and so in every other instance. But in this sense, Justin could not have called the professors of the Christian religion, τὸ ἡμέτερον γένος, “our race;” for Christians were not all of one “race” or nation. Accordingly, nowhere else, so far as I am aware, will you find the collective body of Christians designated τὸ ἡμέτερον γένος, “our race.”

2. The heterodox persons, of whom Justin is speaking, were the Ebionites, as we shall afterwards shew, who really were of the Jewish race. Hence, ancient Ecclesiastical writers usually class the heresy of the Ebionites among the heresies which arose amongst the Jewish people; see the Apostolical Constitutions, vi. 6, and what we have said above in iii. 1, [page 55.]

3. In a passage in the preceding page, which I just now referred to, Justin, evidently treating of the Ebionites, writes to this effect “; “But if those of your race, Trypho, who say that they believe in this Christ, do absolutely require¹ such of the Gentiles as believe in this Christ to live according to the law, which was ordained through Moses, or choose not to hold communion with them in this kind of intercourse,” (by which, that is, men are admitted to communion of all things, as brethren and men of the same sympathies, as he had been saying a little before,) “these also in like manner I do not agree with².” Those of the Jewish nation, who, whilst they professed to believe in our Christ, nevertheless not only observed the ritual law of Moses themselves, but also imposed the obligation of observing it on other Christians of the Gentiles, were certainly no other than the Ebionites, as we have already shewn. To this you may add that statement of Epiphanius^x, who asserts that the Ebionites taught, that circumcision was instituted by

¹ ἐκ παντὸς ἀναγκά-
ζωσι. [201]

² οὐκ ἀπο-
δέχομαι.

^u εἰ δὲ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους τοῦ ὑμετέρου πιστεύειν λέγοντες ἐπὶ τούτων τὸν Χριστὸν, ὡ Τρύφων, ἐκ παντὸς κατὰ τὸν διὰ Μωσέως διαταχθέντα νόμον ἀναγκάζωσι: ἔην τοὺς ἐξ ἐθνῶν πιστεύοντας ἐπὶ

τούτων τὸν Χριστὸν, ἢ μὴ κοινωνεῖν αὐτοῖς τῆς τοιαύτης συνδιαγωγῆς αἰρῶνται, ὁμοίως καὶ τούτους οὐκ ἀποδέχομαι.
—[§ 47. p. 143.]

^x Hæres. xxx. 30.

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God, and enjoined on all, "for the purpose of sanctification, and for the sake of the inheritance of the kingdom of heaven" (*ἀγιοστίας ἔνεκα, καὶ κληρονομίας οὐρανῶν βασιλείας χάριν*).

But when, in this passage, the Ebionites are described by this circumlocution, οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους τοῦ ὑμετέρου πιστεύειν λέγοντες ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν Χριστὸν ("those of your race, who say that they believe in this Christ"), who can doubt that in the passage also which the Remonstrants quote, Justin, in speaking of the same Ebionites, likewise says, *τινὲς ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑμετέρου γένους ὁμολογοῦντες αὐτὸν Χριστὸν εἶναι*,—"some of your race, who acknowledge Him to be Christ." 4. Lastly, by admitting this reading, Justin's discourse will be very consistent, whereas it would otherwise be inconsequential¹.

¹ ἀνακόλου-
θος.

For he had said a little before, as we have seen, that even if it could not be proved by him, that our Jesus was both God before the worlds, and in the fulness of time became man of a virgin, yet that Trypho, as a Jew, certainly ought not on that account to have denied, that He was the Christ, or the Messiah whom the prophets had promised. And this he proves and elucidates very appositely by the example of certain persons of the Jewish race, who, though they did not acknowledge the divinity of Jesus or His birth of a virgin, did yet confess Him to be the Christ. The case certainly appears to me to be clear, and, if I am not greatly mistaken, the impartial reader will agree with me, on a careful and judicious consideration of the context and scope of this passage of Justin^γ.

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7. But perhaps some one may further object, that Justin simply professes his own dissent from the heretics whom he remarks on, without branding them with any other stigma. For he merely says, he does not agree with them,—and does not call their doctrine heretical, or themselves heretics. I answer; What if this be true? It is not with them that he is concerned in this passage; he is intent on another object, and merely mentions them incidentally. But what? Is it absolutely necessary that he who regards any one as a

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^γ [The Benedictine Editor maintains, that the reading *ἡμετέρου* should be retained, although he agrees with Bp. Bull in supposing, that Justin in this passage treats of the Ebionites.

On these words of Justin consult Bingham's *Vindication of the Doctrine and Liturgy of the Church of England*, (Oxford, 1774,) p. 23.—B.]

heretic, should call him a heretic as often as he speaks of him? I entertain no doubt, that Justin in the treatise which he wrote professedly against all heresies, (and which he mentions himself in this Dialogue,) handled this heresy also more sharply, and depicted it in its true colours. It is, however, simply untrue, that Justin in this passage did not brand those who held this doctrine¹ with any stigma of infamy. For he says plainly enough, that they not only differed in opinion from himself, but departed likewise from the opinion and faith of most² Christians, that is, of the Catholic Church. And, indeed, they who in Justin's time taught, that our Lord was only a man born of human parents, were either Carpocratians, or Cerinthians, or else Ebionites: and these when gathered together as into one body were very few in comparison with the other² Christians, and were all separated from the communion of the Apostolic Churches. Of the Carpocratians and Cerinthians no one has a doubt: and with respect to the Ebionites, it is sufficiently clear from what we have already alleged out of Ignatius and Irenæus, that they also, from their very first beginning, were regarded as heretics by the Catholic Church. Indeed, their doctrine of Christ's being a mere man was reprobated by most³ even of the Christians of the circumcision, that is, of the Nazarenes, who retained the primitive faith of the Church of Jerusalem, which was founded by the Apostles, as I have fully proved, ii. 11, 12, [page 38.] And with no Church of Gentile Christians were these persons ever in communion, nor desired to be, as we shall presently shew. Moreover, Justin intimates, that those of whom he is speaking, not only went counter to Catholic consent, but also were in opposition to the sacred oracles of the Old, and, more especially, of the New Testament. This, I say, he intimates not obscurely in the last words of the passage we have quoted, which were omitted by the Remonstrants, with prudence enough, but with little candour: "With these," he says, "I do not agree, nor⁴ would most

CHAP. VII.
§ 6, 7.

¹ dogmatistas.

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² reliquos.

³ οἱ πλεῖστοι.

* τῶν πλειστῶν Christianorum. [But see the note on the translation of this passage on § 2. [p. 164.] from which it is clear, that the argument, which Bp. Bull derives from the word πλειστῶν, is of no weight.—B. Bp. Bull's translation seems to be correct,

but whether the words are translated as they are in the text, or as Dr. Burton preferred, the inference is the same, that this view was not held by very many professed Christians, which seems to be the ground on which Bp. Bull's argument rests.]

people say so, who agree in opinion with myself; *since we are commanded by Christ to believe not the traditions and doctrines of men, but those which the blessed prophets promulged, and Christ Himself taught.*" Surely in these words Justin intimates, (what we shall clearly shew presently,) that those heretics trusted rather to human traditions, than to the inspired predictions of the ancient prophets, or the words of Christ Himself in the Gospel. And this was enough for Justin to say of them in passing.

- [204] 8. But the remark, which I have repeatedly made—that it is the Ebionites who were here referred to by Justin—requires now to be explained and established somewhat more at length. Certainly, if we consult Ecclesiastical history and the ancient writers on heresy, we shall find, that no sect of Christians existed either in the age of Justin or earlier, to whom the opinion, which is here described, applies in every particular, except only the Ebionites. For though the Carpocratians and the Cerinthians agreed with the Ebionites in asserting, that Jesus was merely a man, born of a human father and mother¹, yet it was never really their opinion, that He was raised to the office and dignity of the Christ by election². Indeed I know not whether they had any thought at all of a Christ or Messiah foretold by the prophets. The Carpocratians, according to the statement of Irenæus³, taught that the dignity and excellency³ of our Jesus consisted in this, "That His soul, as it was firm and pure, remembered the things which it had seen, in the circle⁴ of the unbegotten God^b; and that on this account a power⁵ had been sent unto Him by God, in order that He might escape from⁶ the framers of the world, and after having

¹ ex utroque sexu.

² κατ' ἐκλογήν.

³ ὑπεροχήν.

⁴ in ea circumlatione (περιφορᾷ).
⁵ virtutem.
⁶ effugere.

^a Quod anima ejus, firma et munda cum esset, commemorata fuerit quæ visa essent sibi in ingenito Deo; et propter hoc a Deo [ab eo, ed. Ben.] missam esse ei virtutem, uti mundi fabricatores effugere posset, et per omnes transgressa, et in omnibus liberata, ascenderet ad Deum [al. eum].—Lib. i. 24. [c. 25. p. 103. The following passage, given in the notes of Massuet, out of Epiphanius (Hær. 27. § 2.) and Theodore (Hær. Fab. c. 5.), seems to supply the Greek of Irenæus; εὐτονον

(καὶ καθάρων, Theod.) ἔσχε ψυχὴν παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἐμνημόνευσε τὰ ὁραθέντα ὑπ' αὐτῆς, ὅτε ἦν ἐν τῇ περιφορᾷ τοῦ ἀγνώστου πατρὸς. ἀπέσταλται ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πατρὸς εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ ψυχὴν δυνάμεις (i. δύναμις) ὅπως . . . φυχῇ τοὺς κοσμοποιούς ἀγγέλους . . . καὶ ὅπως διὰ πασῶν τῶν πράξεων χωρήσασα καὶ ἐλευθερωθεῖσα, διέλθοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄνω.]

^b In most [MSS.] copies the *in* does not occur.—GRABE. [It is also wanting in all the MSS. of the Benedictine edition.—B.]

passed through all, and being set free in all respects, might ascend to God." But this conceit, in my opinion, never entered the minds of those to whom Justin referred. Besides, these Carpocratians were the most impure of men; they were addicted to magic, and had gone on to such a length of impiety, that they acknowledged absolutely no difference between good and evil, as Irenæus in the same passage expressly asserts. It is not, therefore, to be believed that Justin meant to argue against Trypho and his fellows the Jews from the opinions of these men, or rather, these brutes ¹ *θηρίων ἀνθρωπομορφων.* in human form; especially as, in other respects, the Jews had nothing in common with them, either in regard to country or sacred rites. And as respects the Cerinthians, although they indeed Judaized with the Jews, in order to avoid the persecutions which the Jews excited, yet the description of the opinions which Justin here refers to, does not apply to them: for the Cerinthians did not at all acknowledge Jesus to be the Christ, understanding by [the term] Christ not the name of an office or dignity, but a certain ² *nescio quem.* Æon, which, as we have often remarked, descended for a season only upon Jesus from the highest power of all. It remains for us, therefore, to decide that it was the Ebionites whom Justin alluded to. For besides these three sects of Christians, no other is mentioned by any ecclesiastical writer as having held, in Justin's time or earlier, that our Saviour ³ *Jesum nostrum.* was merely a man born of human parents. Almost all the other heretics of those times, who entertained erroneous views respecting the person of Christ, impugned the truth of His human nature. The Ebionites, however, as being Jews, when they departed from the primitive belief and opinion of the Church of Jerusalem respecting our Lord, embraced the common Jewish opinion about the Messiah; which was the very same as the view which Justin describes in this passage. Hence Trypho afterwards refers to it with approbation thus ^c; "It appears to me that those who say that He was a man, and was anointed and made the Christ by election, say what is more credible than those of you ^d who say these things ^e *ὑμῶν.*

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¹ *θηρίων
ἀνθρωπο-
μορφων.*² *nescio
quem.*³ *Jesum
nostrum.*

75

^c ἐμοὶ μὲν δοκοῦσιν . . . οἱ λέγοντες ἄνθρωπον γεγενῆσθαι αὐτὸν, καὶ κατ' ἐκλογὴν κεχρίσθαι, καὶ Χριστὸν γεγενῆσθαι,

πιθανώτερον ὑμῶν λέγειν τῶν ταῦτα ἄπερ φησὶ λεγόντων. καὶ γὰρ πάντες ἡμεῖς τὸν Χριστὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων

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¹ ἐννόμως.² ipsissima.

that thou dost. For we all expect that Christ will be a man [born] of human parents, and that Elias will come and anoint Him." And afterwards^d he advises Justin, if he wishes to persuade the Jews and others that Jesus is the Christ, to teach that He is "a man born of human parents, and that, on account of his living in conformity with the law¹ and perfectly, he has been thought worthy to be chosen to be the Christ." This indeed was the very² opinion of Ebion and his earliest followers; from which, indeed, the Ebionites of later times turned aside, and went off into various different opinions about Christ, the greatest number of them embracing a view not unlike the dogma of the Cerinthians, as we learn from Epiphanius, *Hæres.* xxx. chap. 3. compared with chap. 17.

³ hypothesis.⁴ magistris.

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⁵ insulsa.⁶ depravamentum.

9. But let us return to the passage of Justin which is the subject of controversy. Surely the last words of it, in which Justin intimates that the heterodox, whom he had mentioned, paid more regard to the doctrines of men than to the words of the prophets and of Christ Himself in the Gospel, not obscurely point out the Ebionites. For these persons were so entirely wedded to their notion³ of the Christ being a mere man, which they had received from the Hebrew doctors⁴, that they would not allow themselves to be parted from it either by the predictions of the prophets, or the testimonies of the evangelists and of the apostles of Christ, which most plainly contradicted that notion. Against the predictions of the prophets, which declare the divine glory and majesty of the Messiah, they shut their eyes and stopped their ears. With the Jews, by an absurd⁵ interpretation, they destroyed the force of⁶ the prophetic statement of a Virgin's bearing [a Son]^e. And with regard to the Scriptures of the New Testament, they received only the Gospel of St. Matthew, rejecting the other three; especially that of St. John, because he both at the very commencement of his Gospel, professedly and in the most express terms, declares the eternal Godhead of our Lord, and also in other passages throughout records sayings by which Christ Himself asserted

προσδοκῶμεν γενήσεσθαι, καὶ τὸν ἥλιον
χρίσαι αὐτὸν ἐλθόντα.—[§ 49. p. 145.]

^d ἄνθρωπον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων (γενόμενον),
... καὶ ... διὰ τὸ ἐννόμως καὶ τελῶς
πολιτεύεσθαι αὐτόν, κατηξιώσθαι τοῦ

ἐκλεγῆναι εἰς Χριστόν.—p. 291. [§ 67.
p. 164.]

^e See Iren. i. 26. and iii. 24. [c. 21.
p. 215.] Also, Epiphanius, *Hæres.*
xxx.

before the Jews His own divine Majesty. Further, also, they mutilated the Gospel of St. Matthew itself. For cutting off the first chapter, they began with what took place in the time of Herod and Caiaphas the high-priest; of course¹ because that chapter contained a most express testimony of Christ's birth of the Virgin. Whatever, indeed, in the writings of the New Testament was plainly repugnant to their dogmas, which they had drawn out of the puddles² of the old Rabbis, this in every instance they hesitated not utterly to reject and repudiate. I know not whether it were not the very shameless impiety of these men that Ignatius also glanced at, when, in his Epistle to the Philadelphians, (in which he certainly expressly notices the heretics who at that time were labouring to introduce Judaism into the Churches of the Gentiles,) he thus writes³; "I have heard some say, Unless I find it in the ancients, I believe it not in the Gospel: and on my saying to them, It is written; they answered me with, It is nought, (or, It was laid down before⁴.)" Here, as I suppose, "the ancients" are the קרבים, Rabbis, or masters and doctors of the Hebrews, who flourished some years before the coming of our Lord; and whose traditions⁴ and doctrines⁵ were regarded as oracles by the Jews and those who shared in their madness. The translator has rendered *προκειται*, *præjacet*; but I do not at all see what that can mean here. Certainly the Greeks frequently used the verb *προκεισθαι* to signify, *to be flung*⁶, or *thrown away*⁷, or *rejected*⁸, as a thing of no worth or value. So that the meaning of Ignatius seems here to be, that the persons of whom he is speaking were not ashamed to avow openly, that they would only believe the Gospel so far forth as it agreed with the traditions of those ancient teachers; and when he refuted the doctrines which they had had handed down from these masters, out of the writings of the New Testament which were received by the Church, they replied that they threw aside and rejected those Scriptures, as of no authority. In this sense, indeed, the pseudo-Ignatius seems to have understood the word *πρόκειται*, for he adds to this passage the following as a sort of

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§ 8, 9.

¹ scilicet.

² lacunis.

³ *πρόκειται*,
præjacet.

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⁴ *παραδόσεις*.

⁵ *διδάγματα*.

⁶ *projici*.

⁷ *abjici*.

⁸ *rejici*.

¹ ἡκουσά τινων λεγόντων, ὅτι ἐὰν μὴ ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις εὕρω, ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ οὐ πιστεύω· καὶ λέγοντός μου αὐτοῖς, ὅτι γέγραπται, ἀπεκρίθησάν μοι, ἔτι πρόκειται.—pp. 43, 44. edit. Voss. [§ 8. p. 32.]

commentary of his ownⁱ; "It is hard to kick against the pricks, hard to disbelieve Christ, hard to reject the preaching of the Apostles." *Πρόκειται* may, however, in another and an exactly opposite meaning, be referred to the opinion maintained by these heretics in opposition to the Scriptures which Ignatius quoted. For the verb *κεῖσθαι* sometimes signifies *to be laid down* as an axiom, that is, in other words, to be determined, established, and defined; whence positions themselves are called *τὰ κειμένα*. In this sense *προκεῖσθαι* is to be *previously* or *beforehand laid down*, determined and defined; and in that way the meaning will be, that when Ignatius argued against them out of the writings of the New Testament, the heretics replied, that their opinion had been determined and established previously, (before, that is, those Scriptures were sent forth,) to wit, by the ancients¹. In either way there is manifestly indicated the same foolish veneration of the ancients, the same profane contempt of the evangelical Scriptures on the part of these men. This however by the way: I proceed with my subject. These Ebionites, further, to defend their other dogma of the perpetual and universal obligation of the ceremonial law of Moses, rejected all the Epistles of S. Paul^k, calling him an apostate from the law. What then? were not these men, after all, heretics, and regarded by Justin as heretics? Did the Church in the time of Justin, or even Justin himself, hold communion with them?

•Credat Judæus Apella;

Non ego.

Nay indeed, Justin could not, if he wished, have held communion with the Ebionites; since they refused to hold communion with Christians from the Gentiles, and were on that account also rejected by Justin as heretics, as is clear from the passage of Justin, which we quoted before in this chapter¹.

10. It has now, I think, been sufficiently, and more than sufficiently proved, that the passage of Justin, cited by Episcopus and the Remonstrants, was altogether in vain alleged by

ⁱ σκληρὸν τὸ πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν, σκληρὸν τὸ Χριστῷ ἀπιστεῖν, σκληρὸν τὸ ἀθετεῖν τὸ κήρυγμα τῶν ἀποστόλων.— [p. 81.]

^k See Irenæus and Epiphanius *ubi supra*.

¹ § 6. [p. 173.]

them to prove, that the Church in the times of Justin held communion with those who denied the divinity of Jesus Christ our Lord. For from what we have said, it is most evident that the dogmatisers, whom Justin mentions in this passage, denied both the divinity of Christ and His birth of a virgin; and, in order to maintain their views, deemed it necessary to reject, and further did in fact impiously and impudently reject, the most holy Gospels of Christ, which were received by the Catholic Church, and were daily read in its holy assemblies; that is, it was none other than the Ebionites that were meant [210] by Justin; who were rejected even by the other Christians of the circumcision, the Nazarenes, and neither could, nor indeed were desirous to be admitted to the communion of any Church of the Gentiles.

11. But to crown the whole, I will add some passages taken from this very Dialogue with Trypho, from which we may easily understand further, what was Justin's own view respecting the necessity of believing the article of our Lord's divinity, and also respecting the Ebionites and others who denied that article. And, first of all, let us again refer to that passage, which I have already pointed out more than once for another purpose, and which may be found in p. 264^m, wherein he says, that the belief of such as are saved under the gospel concerning Christ is that, by which "they acknowledge this Christ to be the Son of God, who was in being before the morning star and the moon, and endured to be incarnate, and born through this Virgin, who was of the lineage of David; that by this dispensation the serpent, which wrought evil from the beginning, and the angels who had been made like unto him, might be utterly subdued," &c. From this it is easy to gather, that Justin certainly did not regard as Christian faith (that is, such faith about the Person of Christ as is sufficient for salvation under the Gospel), the faith of those who believed in a Christ or Son of God, such as had no existence before [His birth of] Mary, and who, further, was not born from Mary a Virgin, but from the union of Joseph and Mary. At any rate it will be evident to any one who reads through the passage entire, that Justin is there giving that part of the creed, or rule of faith, which

^m [§ 45. p. 141. quoted above, ch. ii. § 14. p. 46.]

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relates to the Son of God, and to the dispensation which He undertook, as it was already in his own time received in the Church ; the gainsayers of which, therefore, could not but be regarded as apostates from the rule [of faith], that is, as heretics, by the Church, and consequently by Justin, who firmly clave to the Church. This will appear still more clearly from another passage of Justin, which occurs in the same Dialogue, p. 253ⁿ, where he seems to be giving us a kind of brief summary of the whole work which he had composed in opposition to all heresies. "There are, then," he says, "and have been many, who having come in the name of Jesus, have taught atheistical and blasphemous tenets and practices ; and are [designated] by us from the name of those men, from whom severally each doctrine and opinion originated. For some of these in one way, and others in another, teach men to blaspheme against the Creator of the universe, and the Christ, who was by Him foretold to be about to come, and the God of Abraham and of Isaac and of Jacob ; with no one of whom do we hold communion, for we know them to be atheistical and impious and unjust and licentious, only confessing Jesus in name, instead of worshipping and adoring¹ Him. They call themselves Christians too, in the same manner as the heathen inscribe the name of God on the works of their own hands, and communicate in licentious and godless rites². Now of these some are called Marcionites, and others Valentinians ; some again Basilidians, and others Saturnilians ; and others by other names, each of them being designated after the originator of its doctrine." In this passage, Justin is manifestly treating of all heretics whatever, who had, either in his own age or before, caused trouble to the Church of Christ ; of these he mentions a few

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¹ σέβειν,
colant
atque ado-
rent.

² τελεταῖς.

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ⁿ εἰσὶν οὖν, καὶ ἐγένοντο πολλοί, οἱ θεὰ καὶ βλάσφημα λέγειν καὶ πράττειν ἐδίδασκαν, ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ προσελθόντες· καὶ εἰσὶν ὑφ' ἡμῶν, ἀπὸ τῆς προσωνυμίας τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἐξ οὗπερ ἐκάστη διδαχὴ καὶ γνώμη ἤρξατο. ἄλλοι γὰρ κατ' ἄλλον τρόπον βλασφημεῖν τὸν ποιητὴν τῶν ὄλων, καὶ τὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προφητευόμενον ἐλεύσεσθαι Χριστὸν, καὶ τὸν Θεὸν Ἀβραάμ, καὶ Ἰσαάκ, καὶ Ἰακώβ διδάσκουσιν· ὃν οὐδενὶ κοινωνοῦμεν, οἱ γνωρίζοντες ἀθέους, καὶ ἀσεβεῖς, καὶ ἀδίκους, καὶ ἀνόμους αὐτοὺς

υἰάρχοντας, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ τὸν Ἰησοῦν σέβειν, ὀνόματι μόνον ὁμολογεῖν· καὶ Χριστιανοὺς ἑαυτοὺς λέγουσιν, ὃν τρόπον οἱ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπιγράφουσι τοῖς χειροποιήτοις, καὶ ἀνόμοις καὶ ἀθέοις τελεταῖς κοινωνοῦσι. καὶ εἰσὶν αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν τινες καλούμενοι Μαρκιανοί, οἱ δὲ Οὐαλεντινιανοί, οἱ δὲ Βασιλιδιανοί, οἱ δὲ Σατορμιλιανοί, καὶ ἄλλοι ἄλλῳ ὀνόματι, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχηγέτου τῆς γνώμης ἕκαστος ὀνομαζόμενος. — [§ 35. p. 132.]

only by name ; but he adds that there were others also, known by other names, each sect having derived its name from its own leader ; the Carpocratians, for instance, from Carpocrates, the Cerinthians from Cerinthus, the Ebionites from Ebion, and several others. Now all these heretics, in some way or other, blasphemed by their teaching either God the Father, or God the Son, or both ; “ Some of them,” says Justin, “ in one way, and others in another, teach men to blaspheme against the Creator of the universe, and the Christ, who was by Him foretold to be about to come, and the God of Abraham and of Isaac and of Jacob.” And here it is to be especially observed, that the same Being is called the Christ and the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, even He who was foretold by the Creator of the universe as about to come, that is, the Son of God. For first, the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, is here manifestly distinguished from the Creator of the universe, *i.e.* God the Father. And in the next place, it is very well known, that Justin throughout this Dialogue teaches, and further earnestly contends, that it was the Christ or Son of God who appeared to Moses in the burning bush, and called Himself the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob. Now ¹, ¹ Age jam. were the Ebionites in no wise blasphemers of Christ, the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, when they absolutely denied that Christ was the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob ? when they taught that He had no existence at all before Abraham, nay, before [His birth of] Mary ? when they even presumed to say and affirm that He was a mere man born of the union of Joseph and Mary ? Moreover, Justin here says, that the heretics ἀντὶ τοῦ τὸν Ἰησοῦν σέβειν, “ instead of worshipping (or adoring) Him, only confessed Jesus in name.” Are not these words also aimed at the Ebionites ? Surely they are ; for of what worship or adoration is it that Justin is speaking ? Without doubt, of that worship, which in this Dialogue he contends to be due to Jesus Christ : in which [Dialogue] he is intent on proving that our Lord is “ both an object of worship and is God ” (καὶ προσκυνητὸν καὶ Θεόν)^o. He is speaking, without doubt, of that worship which all the Catholic Christians of his time paid to Christ, who glorified

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^o See p. 287. [§ 68. p. 166.]

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and adored Him as God together with the Father and the Holy Ghost, in their hymns and doxologies, as he himself testifies in the Apology, which is called the Second ^p, on which passage see by all means what we have said in the Defence of the Nicene Creed, ii. 4. 8. [p. 148.] Now did the Ebionites pay, or could the Ebionites have paid a worship of this nature to Christ? Surely not. It is certain, therefore, that in the list of the heretics with whom the Church had no communion, and whom the Church rejected as impious and utterly unworthy of the sacred name of Christians, Justin included the Ebionites also, and all others who with them impugned the doctrine of the Divine Nature ¹ of our Saviour.

¹ τὴν θεο-
λογίαν.

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12. To these, if you wish, you may add a third passage, which you will meet with in the same Dialogue, p. 274^q, where Justin, on being again challenged by Trypho to do so, proceeds to shew at length that in the Old Testament there is set forth throughout by the prophetic Spirit [One that is] God, and true God too, not improperly so called, who is yet personally distinct from God the Father of the universe; altogether understanding this to be Jesus Christ, in whom we believe; and he engages moreover to adduce such proofs of this from the Law and the Prophets, “as none should be able to gain-say” (πρὸς ὧς ὅτι οὐδεὶς δυνήσεται). Concerning the proofs which he meant to adduce, he then proceeds to make the following remarks ^r; “But they will seem strange to you, although read by you every day; so that even from this circumstance you may understand, that for your wickedness God hath hidden from you the power of perceiving the wisdom which is in His words, except some ² to whom, according the grace of His compassion, He hath left a seed unto salvation ³, as Isaiah saith, that your race also might not utterly perish like that of Sodom and Gomorrah.” Here, as every one must see, by those “some,” who were the only ones of the Jewish nation left by God as a seed unto salvation, are meant the Jews who believed in Christ and embraced His

² τινῶν.

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³ εἰς σωτη-
ρίαν.

^p P. 56. [Apol. i. 6. p. 47.]

^q [§ 55. p. 150.]

^r ξέναι δέ σοι δοξοῦσιν εἶναι, καί περ καθ' ἡμέραν ἀναγινωσκόμεναι ὑφ' ὑμῶν ὡς καὶ ἐκ τούτου συνεῖναι ὑμᾶς, ὅτι διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν κακίαν ἀπέκρυψεν ὁ Θεὸς ἀφ' ὑμῶν τὸ δυνάσθαι νοεῖν τὴν σοφίαν

τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ, πλὴν τινῶν οἷς κατὰ χάριν τῆς πολυσπλαγχνίας αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἔφη Ἡσαίας, ἐγκατέλιπε σπέρμα εἰς σωτηρίαν, ἵνα μὴ ὡς Σοδομιτῶν καὶ Γομορραίων τέλειον καὶ τὸ ὑμέτερον γένος ἀπολήται.—[Ibid.]

doctrine. But with respect to these, Justin clearly enough intimates, that they all understood "the wisdom," or mystery, which was contained in the ancient Scriptures, concerning Christ [as] the Son of God, and also ¹ God: that those therefore of the Jewish nation, who, whilst professing to believe in Christ, had not yet discovered that wisdom, either in the writings of the prophets or even in the mid-day light of the Gospel, namely, the Ebionites, he certainly did not regard as belonging to the seed which God had reserved unto salvation, *i.e.* true believers or Christians, but rather deemed them fit to be classed among the reprobate Jews, who were blinded by the just judgment of God. Compare what we have observed above ^a on the ancient Nazarenes, or Christians of the circumcision at Jerusalem; for that throws light on this passage of Justin, and is in turn illustrated by it.

CHAP. VII.
§ 11, 12.

¹ adeoque.

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^a Chap. ii. §§ 9, 11—15.

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1. WHEN I had almost completed the foregoing observations on this celebrated passage of Justin, I obtained the second volume of M. Simon Episcopus' Theological Works ; in which I found a new edition of his Reply to the Specimen of Calumnies, taken from the Apology of the Remonstrants. Now in this Reply ^a the Remonstrant party contend by many arguments, that from the passage in question it is clear "that the ancient and primitive Church of the Christians held communion with such as believed and professed that Jesus Christ was nothing else than a mere man, in other words, a human being [born] of human [parents], and made the Christ by election." Some of their arguments they boast of as being "most evident ;" whilst others they put forward as being only "very probable." With respect to their arguments of the first kind, what I have already said will have made it plain to every unprejudiced person, that so far from being "most evident," they do not even deserve to be considered as "very probable." However, we will briefly and concisely run through these most evident arguments of Episcopus and the Remonstrants.

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2. First, "Justin," says Episcopus, "expressly affirms that it is possible for a person to demonstrate on solid grounds that Jesus is the Christ of God, in other words, the promised Messiah, although he should not be able to demonstrate, that Christ preexisted as the Son of God. Justin, therefore, believed that Christ might be held to be the Messiah and worshipped with sure faith ¹, even though He were denied to be the eternal Son of God." But to this argument we have given a full and clear answer in vii. 4, 5, [page 166,)

¹ certa
fide.

^a Oper. Episcopii, vol. ii. part 2. pp. 295, 296.

to which I refer the reader. The source, no doubt, of this error in the case of Episcopus and the Remonstrants, was their not observing, that, in the passage before us, Justin is arguing not on his own principles, or from the true state of the case, but on the hypothesis of the Jews, with whom he is disputing: although scarcely anything can be more clear than that such was the fact. Secondly, "Justin," continues Episcopus, "affirms, that if a person believes that Christ is only a man born of human parents, and made the Christ by election, he would only slip through error, and would not be denying that He was the very Christ. Therefore, he believed that this error was such as was compatible with that faith, whereby Christ is, notwithstanding, believed to be the Messiah, on which he supposes Christianity to hinge." My reply to this is, that the antecedent is palpably false. For Justin does not affirm what Episcopus says that he affirms. The words of Justin, in which Episcopus dreamt that his premiss was contained, are the following^b; "Even though I should not prove that He" (that is, our Saviour) "both had a prior existence, and endured to be born as man, liable to the same sufferings as ourselves, and possessing flesh according to the Father's will and pleasure, it would be fair to say only that I was mistaken in this particular" (that is, in my having affirmed that He preexisted and was born man of a virgin); "but [it would] not [be fair]" (that is, in you, Trypho, a Jew, who expect no other Christ or Messiah than one who is a mere man, born of a human father and mother) "[on that account] to deny that this is the Christ" (ἐν τούτῳ πεπλανῆσθαι με μόνον λέγειν δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀρνεῖσθαι ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Χριστός). But see again what has been advanced in our seventh chapter, §§ 4 and 5. Thirdly, Episcopus proceeds to argue further from this passage of Justin, to this effect; "Justin affirms, that if this only could be proved, that Jesus is the Christ or Messiah, that alone might be, and ought to be, enough for a Jew, even though he should not know, or should deny, or be unable to prove, that Jesus preexisted as the Son of God, and should accordingly affirm, that He is nothing more than a mere man." But what the learned writer

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^b [See the Greek, cited above, p. 164.]

meant by this, I can scarcely discover. Did he mean that Justin affirms, that if this only were proved to the Jew, or assented to by him, that Jesus is the Christ or Messiah, this could be sufficient *for his salvation*, even if he were ignorant, or denied, that Jesus preexisted as the Son of God, and accordingly alleged, that he was only a mere man, born of human parents? Certainly he must either have meant this, or he has said nothing to the point. But where, I ask, has Justin affirmed this? Nay, if such had been his opinion, it would indeed have been to no purpose that he laboured and toiled so earnestly in this Dialogue, and collected together arguments from every part of the Scriptures of the Old Testament, to prove to the Jews, and convince them, that it was foretold of the Christ, or Messiah, that He should be God, and be born man of a virgin. In vain does he so often and so sharply rebuke and upbraid the Jews for their refusal to believe and acknowledge this doctrine, [in vain] does he charge them with the height of obstinacy, and even go so far as, occasionally, to deplore and lament over them as forsaken of God, and blinded by His righteous judgment. For, as is plain, he did not act sincerely in so doing, because, if we are to believe Episcopus, his real opinion all the while was, that it was not at all necessary for the Jews to believe these doctrines; it was sufficient for their salvation, if they allowed that Jesus was in any sense the Christ or Messiah. Would it not then have been better for him to have been quite silent about these mysteries,—lest, by unseasonably urging on them a truth that was not necessary, he should repel them from the belief which was really indispensable? But why need I dwell on this? I have already evidently proved, that Justin, together with the Catholic Church of his time, regarded as heretics, and aliens from the true and saving knowledge and faith of Christ, those from among the Jews who confessed Jesus to be the Christ, but yet denied His preexistence before the worlds and His birth of a virgin, that is to say, the Ebionites. The Remonstrants next insist on these words of Justin, “For there are certain of our race,” &c. To this, however, we have already given a clear reply in vii. 6. [page 171.] Such, then, after all are the arguments which Episcopus and the Remonstrants have put

forth as "most evident." With what judgment, and with what good faith, the impartial reader may decide.

3. Let us now proceed to consider the arguments which are advanced by Episcopus as "very probable;" of most of them I confess that I should never have even dreamt, unless he had suggested them. He urges, first; "That those words of Justin, 'nor would most people say so, who are of the same opinion as myself,' evidently shew, that in the very community to which Justin belonged, there were a few who were of that opinion. For he did not say, *none* would say so of those who are of the same opinion as myself, (in contradistinction to the other heretical sects, the Marcionites, Valentinians, &c., whom he constantly distinguishes from his own party,) but *a very few* only." Here you have an argument of this kind; —Justin's words, "nor would very many say so, who are of the same opinion as myself," shew that, in that very community to which Justin belonged, there were some (though only a few) whose views were such as that they believed, that Christ was merely a man born of human parents; therefore the Church in the time of Justin held communion with those who regarded Christ as a mere man. The conclusion, I admit, is clearer than the sun. But as for the premises, who, unless assisted by the spectacles of Episcopus, would discover them in the words of Justin? The words of Justin are these; οἷς οὐ συντίθεμαι· οὐδ' ἂν πλείστοι ταῦτά μοι δοξάσαντες εἴποιεν. This Episcopus construes, as having a partitive signification, thus; "Nor would most¹ of those, who are of the same opinion as myself, say so^c;" altogether incorrectly however; for if Justin had meant this, he would have said, οὐδ' ἂν πλείστοι τῶν, or ἐκ τῶν, or ἀπὸ τῶν ταῦτά μοι δοξασάντων εἴποιεν. Besides, the ταῦτά μοι δοξάσαντες, ("who are of the same opinion as myself,") here are evidently those who thought as Justin did concerning Christ; namely, that He both preexisted before the worlds, and was made man of a virgin; and of these not one certainly would say that Christ was only a man born of human parents. This, I aver, is clear from the answer which Trypho makes immediately afterwards^d; "It appears to me," says he, "that those who hold that He was a man, and

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plerique.

* [Thus both Episcopus and Bull see the note on vii. 2. (p. 164.)]
mistranslated this passage.—B. But ^d [See the Greek above, p. 177.]

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¹ ἐξηγητικῶς.

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² sacris
interesse.

was anointed and made the Christ by election, say what is more credible than those of you do, who say those things that thou sayest" (τῶν ταῦτα ὑπερ φῆς λεγόντων). Here, without doubt, οἱ ταῦτα ὑπερ φῆς λέγοντες, "those who say those things that thou sayest," are the same as those whom Justin designates ταῦτά μοι δοξάσαντες, "[those] who are of the same opinion as myself." Now, [those whom Trypho referred to as] οἱ ταῦτα ὑπερ φῆς λέγοντες, "those who say those things that thou sayest," are indisputably those who agreed with Justin in saying, that Christ both preexisted as God, and was born as man of a virgin; to whose opinion Trypho opposes and prefers the opinion of those who "held, that He was a man, and was anointed and made the Christ by election." It is therefore evident that the words [of Justin], ταῦτά μοι δοξάσαντες, "who are of the same opinion as myself," are added by way of explanation¹, and that the πλείστοι, "most," is opposed to the τινές, "some," of the preceding clause: so that Justin's words should be explained in the following manner: "For there are some, Trypho, of our race (or rather of *your* nation), who, while they acknowledge Jesus to be the Christ, still affirm that He is only a man born of human parents. With these I do not agree; nor indeed would the great majority of Christians say so, forasmuch as they entertain the same belief on these points as I do myself." Who now would conclude from this, as Episcopus does, that there were some in the same community of Christians to which Justin was attached, who were of opinion, that Jesus was a mere man? And to this you may add the observation, which I have already made, that it would have been impossible for heterodox persons, of whom Justin is speaking, to have had a place in the assembly or communion of any Catholic Church; inasmuch as they denied not only our Lord's divinity, but even His nativity, as man, of a virgin; and in order to support both their hypotheses, they simply rejected the Gospels, which the Catholic Church received, and read in its sacred assemblies. Nay, they who openly denied our Lord's divinity in Justin's time, could not have taken part² in the sacred services of the Catholics without a palpable mockery of the Christian worship. For in the Liturgies of the Catholic Church, as early as Justin's age,

and even from the beginning, our Saviour was worshipped and glorified as God. With respect to his own times, Justin is himself a witness, as we have seen already [p. 184]. And before Justin, Pliny, in his Epistles, book x. epist. xcvii. addressed to Trajan, reports the following from the confession of apostate Christians; "They affirmed that this was the sum and substance of their crime or error, that they were accustomed to assemble before daylight on a stated day, and to sing together one with another¹ a hymn in honour of Christ, as God." These hymns were appealed to, in opposition to Artemon, when he impudently rejected as a novelty the Church's doctrine of our Saviour's divinity, by a Catholic writer, cited in Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. v. 28; *ψαλμοὶ δὲ ὅσοι καὶ ᾠδαὶ ἀδελφῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ πιστῶν γραφεῖσθαι τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν Χριστὸν ὑμνοῦσι θεολογοῦντες*. "Such psalms and hymns of the brethren, as have been written from the beginning by the faithful, celebrate Christ the Word of God, speaking of Him as God." So plain, indeed, and express was the acknowledgment of the divinity of Christ our Lord in these hymns, that Paul of Samosata could not bear them on that account, and actually endeavoured to put them out² of the Churches that were subject to his jurisdiction, as the fathers of Antioch assert in their Synodical Epistle in Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. vii. 30.

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TO CHAP.
VII. § 3—5.

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¹ dicere
secum in-
vicem.

² elimi-
nare.

4. The second of these arguments, which Episcopus judged to be very probable, is to this effect; "The words, 'of our race,' seem to intimate a closer relation and communion of faith, than one which only goes so far as the name and external profession of Christianity. For of these very persons, whom Justin designates as of his own race, he affirms, that they do not deny Him to be the Christ, or that it does not follow from their opinion, that Jesus is not the Christ." But this argument is made up of two, which we have already refuted separately. Respecting the words, "of our race," see again vii. 6. [p. 171.] And as for the reason, which Episcopus subjoins, we have also, in vii. 4, 5, and again in this Appendix, § 2, shewn it to be a gross delusion of his own.

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5. Then comes the third argument: "In the next place, it ought not," he says, "to appear very strange, that Justin

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accounted those who held Christ to be a mere man, to be members of his Church ; seeing that he accounted even Socrates and Heraclitus to be Christians, who lived with Christ, the first-begotten of God : as Scultetus himself expressly states, out of Justin, in his analysis of the Apology for the Christians, presented to Antoninus Pius the emperor, (that is, Justin's work.)" A strange argument indeed, foreign to the subject, and very far-fetched ! But I reply : In what I have written above, I have clearly shewn, that they who out of those that professed the Christian name, did not hold and worship Christ as the true God, the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, were placed by Justin in the number of impious heretics, with whom neither he himself, nor the Catholic Church of Christ, had any communion. And with respect to those heterodox persons, who are alluded to in the passage in question, I have already made it clear, that they were, on more than one ground, regarded as heretics by Justin and all Catholics. So that were that true, which Episcopus adduces out of Scultetus, that Justin regarded Socrates and Heraclitus as true Christians, all that will follow from it is, that the holy man entertained a better opinion of Socrates and Heraclitus than he did of those heretics. And it ought not to seem very strange, if Justin thought and hoped better things of heathens, who, destitute of divine revelation, worshipped one God the Creator of all things, according to the small measure of their light and knowledge, and followed after virtue (as he thought Socrates and Heraclitus had done), than of those who, though they boasted of being Christians, impiously and shamelessly rejected the very first principles of their religion, most clearly handed down by Christ Himself and His Apostles, [a religion] divinely revealed, and abundantly confirmed by so many and so great miracles, on the ground, forsooth, that they could not with their own shallow brain¹ comprehend the modes and reasons of them.

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¹ cerebello.

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But when Justin, in what is called his Second Apology^e, calls Socrates and Heraclitus Christians, he does not mean that they were such in an absolute and perfect sense, but in part only, so far, that is, as, following the guidance of right reason, they despised the idols of the heathen, and acknow-

ledged and worshipped one God the Father of all, as did the Christians; and, moreover, both taught in their writings and, to a certain extent, set forth in their conduct many principles, bearing on moral virtue, which were excellent and agreeable to the Christian religion. For it is a doctrine of Justin, that the reason, which is inherent in every man, is as it were "a seed" (σπέρμα) and "a portion" (μέρος) of "the Divine Word" or "Reason" (τοῦ θεοῦ Λόγου), that is, of Christ, whom he therefore designates "the whole Reason" (τὸν πάντα λόγον); and, consequently, that the Gentile philosophers, who before the coming of Christ conformed their doctrines and their conduct to the rule of the reason that was implanted in them, were so far Christians; although those alone are Christians in an absolute sense, who are taught, and who embrace, that divine appointment and system of teaching of the whole Reason, that is, of Christ Himself, which is delivered in the Gospel, and is certainly far more excellent than any human philosophy. This Justin in part intimates in that very passage of the Second Apology which Scultetus referred to, wherein he thus writes^f; "We have been taught, that Christ is the First-begotten of God, and we have before shewn that He is the Word, or Reason, of which all the race of man participates; and they who have lived with¹ Reason are Christians," &c. But Justin unfolds his meaning more fully in the Apology which is placed first in the common editions^g; where, speaking of certain philosophers among the Gentiles, who incurred the hatred of their countrymen because they delivered some noble precepts on morals, "through the seed of the Word, or Reason, which is implanted in the whole race of man" (διὰ τὸ ἐμφύτον παντὶ γένει ἀνθρώπων σπέρμα τοῦ λόγου), and adducing the examples, of Heraclitus again, and also of one Musonius, who flourished in his own times, he immediately adds^h; "For, as we have intimated, all those who in any way whatever are studious to live according to Reason, and to avoid moral evil, the demons have always striven to make objects of hatred.

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μετδ.

^f τὸν Χριστὸν πρωτότοκον τοῦ Θεοῦ εἶναι ἐδιδάχθημεν, καὶ προεμνήσαμεν λόγον ὄντα, οὗ πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων μετέσχε· καὶ οἱ μετὰ λόγου βιώσαντες, Χριστιανοί εἰσι, κ. λ. — [Apol. i. 46. p. 71.]

^g P. 46. [Apol. ii. 8. p. 94.]

^h ὥς γὰρ ἐσημάναμεν, πάντας τοὺς καὶ ὅπως δὴ ποτε κατὰ λόγον βιοῦν σπουδάζοντας καὶ κακίαν φεύγειν, μισεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐνέργησαν οἱ δαίμονες. οὐδὲν δὲ θανμαστὸν, εἰ τοὺς [μὴ] κατὰ σπερματικὸν

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¹ σπερματι-
κοῦ λόγου
μέρος.

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² nativæ.

³ πανταχό-
θεν.

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And it is not at all to be wondered at, if the demons, being convicted [by them], exert themselves much more that they may be hated who [frame their lives]¹, (not) according to a portion of the implanted reason¹, but according to the knowledge and contemplation² of the whole Reason, that is, Christ."

Here you see in what sense Justin called Heraclitus, and such as were like him, Christians,—namely, inasmuch AS THEY FRAMED THEIR LIVES ACCORDING TO A PORTION OF THE IMPLANTED REASON, AND IN ANY WAY WHATEVER LIVED ACCORDING TO REASON, AND WERE STUDIOUS TO AVOID MORAL EVIL; whom on this account he severs by a very wide interval from real Christians, WHO LIVE ACCORDING TO THE KNOWLEDGE AND CONTEMPLATION OF THE WHOLE REASON AND WORD, THAT IS, CHRIST. But if any one supposes that Justin thought that man can by the sole power of his inborn² reason attain to such a knowledge of God, as is sufficient to obtain eternal life and happiness in heaven, let him hear what he says for himself in his Hortatory Address to the Gentiles, which ends with these words^k; "From every consideration³, therefore, we must know that by no other means is it possible to learn respecting God, or right religion, than from the prophets alone, who instruct you¹ through Divine inspiration." He likewise says in express terms, in the Epistle to Diognetus^m; "No one of men has either seen or come to know [God]; but He has Himself revealed Himself; and He has revealed Himself through faith, to which alone it has been granted to see God."

6. I come now to the fourth and last argument of Episcopus, which is to this effect; "If any one," he says, "carefully reads the writings of Justin, and especially that

λόγου μέρος, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ παντὸς λόγου, ὃ ἐστὶ Χριστοῦ, γινώσκιν καὶ θεωρίαν, πολὺ μᾶλλον μισοῖσθαι οἱ δαίμονες ἐλεγχόμενοι ἐνεργουσιν.—[Ibid.]

¹ The learned author in a marginal note suggested that βιοῦν σπουδάζοντας is to be supplied here from what preceded, after Sylburg's note on the passage. On this, however, see my observation on this passage of Justin in p. 20 of the most recent Oxford edition, num. 2.—GRABE.

² [The negative [μὴ]], which is allowed to be necessary to the sense, but

is not in the MSS., has been inserted.]

^k πανταχόθεν τοίνυν εἰδέναι προσήκει, ὅτι οὐδαμῶς ἐτέρος περὶ Θεοῦ ἢ τῆς ὁρθῆς θεοσεβείας μανθάνειν οἷόν τε ἢ παρὰ τῶν προφητῶν μόνον, τῶν διὰ τῆς θέας ἐπιπνοίας διδασκόντων ἡμᾶς.—p. 37. [p. 35.]

¹ [ὑμᾶς. ἡμᾶς, "us," as in the Benedictine edition, is better.—B.]

^m ἀνθρώπων δὲ οὐδεὶς (τὸν Θεόν) οὔτε εἶδεν, οὔτε ἐγνώρισεν· αὐτὸς δὲ ἑαυτὸν ἐπέδειξεν· ἐπέδειξε δὲ διὰ πίστεως, ἥ μόνῃ Θεῷ εἶδέν συγκεχώρηται.—p. 499. [§ 8. p. 238.]

Dialogue which is entitled Trypho, will see that Justin does indeed acknowledge Christ to be God and Lord, but throughout denies that He is the Creator of the universe, and further asserts Him to be another than the Creator of the universe, distinct and different from Him, not only in person, but in nature, although not in will¹. This being the case, it obviously ought not to seem strange if he reckoned ‘of his own race’ [or class] those who believed that He had no existence prior to all other things, nor was created and made in the beginning, but was begotten and born, in time, of human parents. For there is not so huge a difference between those opinions, as that a schism should be made on account of them. For on both sides Christ is held to be a created being, and the question is simply about the time, when He began to exist.” My answer to all this is, Wonderful discovery²! what is the meaning of the words; “Justin throughout denies that Christ is the Creator of the universe”? Did Episcopi³ mean by these words, that Justin denies that all created things were brought into being out of nothing by Christ, that is to say, by the only-begotten Son of God, who was in being before all ages, who after His incarnation received the name of Christ? But this is utterly untrue. For Justin, on the contrary, throughout ascribes the creation of all things to the Son of God, as a work common to Him with God the Father. Thus, for instance, in the Apology which in the editions is called the First, after speaking of God the Father, he subjoins the following words respecting the Son⁴; “But His Son, who alone is properly⁵ called Son, the Word who before all created things both was in being with Him and was begotten of Him, when in the beginning He created and set in order all things through Him,” &c. In like manner, in his Dialogue with Trypho⁶, he says; “But this Offspring, which was really and indeed⁷ put forth⁸ by the Father, was in being with the Father before all the creatures, and with Him the Father holds converse,” that is to say, in those words which he had quoted a little before,

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VII. § 5, 6.

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¹ γνώμη.

² Παρε!

³ κυρίως.

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⁴ τῷ ὄντι.

¹ ὁ δὲ υἱὸς ἐκείνου, ὁ μόνος λεγόμενος κυρίως υἱὸς, ὁ λόγος πρὸ τῶν ποιημάτων καὶ συνῶν καὶ γεννώμενος, ὅτε τὴν ἀρχὴν δι’ αὐτοῦ πάντα ἐκτίσσε καὶ ἐκόσμησε, κ.λ. — p. 44. [Apol. ii. 6. p. 92. (See the Defensio Fidei Nicænæ, book iii. ch.

2. § 1.)]

⁶ ἀλλὰ τοῦτο τὸ τῷ ὄντι ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς προβληθὲν γέννημα πρὸ πάντων τῶν ποιημάτων συνῆν τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ τοῦτ’ ὁ Πατὴρ προσομιλεῖ. — p. 285. [§ 62. p. 159.]

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"Let Us make man," &c. In the Epistle to Diognetus also^p, he teaches that the Son of God is not "an inferior minister" (ὑπηρέτην τινά), "but the very Framer and Creator of the universe Himself" (ἀλλ' αὐτὸν τὸν τεχνίτην καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν ὅλων). Did then Episcopus take the [words], "the Creator of the universe," in a personal sense, as they say, in so far forth as "the Creator of the universe" is a title of God the Father, in that He is "the fountain of Godhead¹," and indeed of all the divine operations? If this were his meaning, we allow that Justin denies (as also the Catholic Church has always denied) that Christ is God the Father. This dogma has been condemned by the Church in each several age, in the case of heretics of divers names. But Episcopus goes on to add, that Justin throughout asserts that Christ (that is, in His more excellent nature, in which He existed before the worlds) is another than the Creator of the universe, *i.e.* than God the Father, and is distinct and different from Him, not in person only, but also in nature, and consequently is nothing more than a mere creature. Certainly, he who seriously ascribes this heresy to Justin cannot be supposed to have ever accurately read the writings of this excellent father. For Justin is so far from asserting throughout that Christ is different from God the Father in nature, and so a

¹ πηγή
θεότητος.

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mere created being, that I am quite sure that no single passage can be produced out of his writings in which he makes such an assertion. On the contrary, in the passages which have just been quoted from the First Apology and from the Dialogue with Trypho, he manifestly distinguishes the Word, or Son of God, as being [the Son of God] properly so-called, that is to say, the true and natural Són of God, from the creatures and all things that have been made by God, and ascribes to the former an existence coeternal with God the Father. And in the passage which has been adduced from the Epistle to Diognetus, he expressly denies that the Son of God is "an inferior minister" (ὑπηρέτην), that is to say, a created being. But in what sense Justin has in other passages, with other primitive fathers, designated the Son of God as the ὑπηρέτης, or "minister," of God the Father, and further has attributed to Him an economy by no

means suited to the majesty of God the Father; namely, that whereby He frequently, from the beginning of the world, came down on earth, and in a visible shape held converse with holy men, we have fully explained in our Defence of the Nicene Creed, iv. 2. 2. [p. 572,] and also in chap. 3. § 4, 5. [p. 598.] Further, in the same Epistle to Diognetus^q, the Son of God is called by Justin, ὁ ἀεὶ, σήμερον υἱὸς λογισθεὶς, “the Ever-existing, who to-day is accounted a Son.” In like manner, in his Hortatory Address^r to the Gentiles, Justin observes, that the Angel, who appeared to Moses in the bush, and whom he always maintains to have been the Son of God, called Himself τὸν ὄντα, “He that is¹,” and then expressly remarks that such a designation “suits the ever-existing God” (τῷ ἀεὶ ὄντι Θεῷ προσήκειν). Surely, the man who thus wrote never dreamt of the Son of God as a created being.

APPENDIX
TO CHAP.
VII. § 6, 7.

7. Lastly, the holy martyr throughout asserts the consubstantiality of the Son, although he nowhere uses the very word [in speaking] of the Son of God; affirming that He is the true, real, and genuine Son of God, begotten of the very substance of the Father; and that He on that account is very God Himself², together with God the Father, as I have clearly shown in the Defence of the Nicene Creed, ii. 4. I will here recall, briefly and in a few words, two passages only, which were in that work drawn out more at length; from which it will become clearer than noonday, in what sense Justin asserted that the Son of God was another than God the Father. The former passage you find in the First Apology^s; “For they who say that the Son is the Father, are convicted of neither knowing the Father, nor of being aware that the Father of all things has a Son, who, being likewise the first-begotten Word of God, is also God.” Here you observe that Justin teaches that the Son is indeed in such wise another than the Father, that He is not the Father Himself, but is a distinct Person from Him; but yet is not another than the Father in nature, inasmuch as, from the very fact that He is begotten of³ God³ ex. the Father, and that of the Father’s mind, as His Λόγος,

¹ the
“I AM.”

² Deus
ipsissimus.
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^q Near the end. [§ 11. p. 240.]

^r Pp. 19, 20. [§ 20, 21. p. 21.]

^s οἱ γὰρ τὸν υἱὸν Πατέρα φάσκοντες εἶναι, ἐλέγχονται μήτε τὸν Πατέρα ἐπι-

στάμενοι, μήθ' ὅτι ἐστὶν υἱὸς τῷ Πατρὶ τῶν ὅλων γινώσκοντες· ὅς καὶ λόγος πρωτότοκος ὢν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Θεὸς ὑπάρχει.—p. 96. [§ 63. p. 81.]

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¹ or, "of
the same
nature and
essence."

² commu-
niter.

("Reason," or "Word,") He is Himself also God. For it is impossible but that the Λόγος, the "Reason," or "Word," of the first and eternal mind, that is, of God the Father, should be homogeneous and co-essential¹ with [the Father] Himself; and, accordingly, the primitive fathers all² employ this very reasoning to establish the true divinity of the Son. But the reader will, in passing, observe with me, that from this single passage it is clear enough, what Justin's view was of those who taught that Christ was a mere man,—not the first-begotten Son of God, who is also Himself God. For he here expressly pronounces, that such as deny the Son to be very God, personally distinct from God the Father, do not even know God the Father, that is, are aliens from true religion and salvation. For it is well known that the phrase of "not knowing the Father," both in the Scriptures and in the writings of the ancient fathers, has the same meaning as being destitute of the saving knowledge of God the Father. In this sense the Apostle John (as I have already remarked elsewhere), in speaking of heretics of his own time, who denied that Christ was the only-begotten Son of God, declares, "Whosoever denieth the Son, the same hath not the Father," 1 John ii. 23. In order, however, that the meaning of Justin in this passage may be more clearly perceived, it is to be noticed that in the preceding words Justin had been speaking of the Jews, who maintained that He who appeared to Moses at the bush in the shape of an angel, and said, "I am that I am," "the God of Abraham," &c., was not the Son of God, but God the Father Himself. For the Jews refused to acknowledge and worship any Son of God, who is Himself also God; flattering themselves in this their obstinacy on the ground that they religiously worshipped one God the Father, and were under no necessity of worshipping any other. These, Justin shews, are deservedly convicted, both by the prophetic Spirit, that is, of the Old Testament, and by Christ Himself, as not knowing even God the Father. Then he takes occasion from this, in the passage we have cited, to pass, as it seems to me, to heretical Christians, and by the way notes those who taught that the Son of God is God the Father Himself, (a heresy in which some were involved in Justin's times, and after Justin's times Praxeas, Noetus, Sabellius,

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and others were,) agreeing in this respect with the Jews, that they acknowledged no Son of God personally distinct from God the Father, who was begotten of God the Father Himself, and so was Himself God. Of these therefore, as well as of the Jews, he declares that they knew not even God the Father; in other words, that, whatever they pretended, they were altogether destitute of the saving knowledge of God. Unquestionably, after the Gospel of Christ has been preached and most fully revealed by the Apostles, no one can now worship God the Father duly¹ and savingly², unless at the same time he worship and reverence God the Son also. Does not this passage of Justin, therefore, just as much strike those who taught that Christ was nothing more than mere man, or even a mere created being? Certainly it does; for these teachers did not, any more than the Jews or the heretics of whom we were speaking, acknowledge the Son of God in Justin's sense, ([as one *i.e.*] who, because He is the Λόγος, or first-begotten "Word" of God, is Himself also God). Let it, however, be sufficient to have observed this point briefly in passing.

APPENDIX
TO CHAP.
VII. § 7, 8.

¹ rite.
² ad
salutem.
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8. I proceed to the second passage of Justin, in which he treats, apparently of set purpose³, of the distinction of the Son of God from God the Father. The passage occurs in that very Dialogue with Trypho to which Episcopius especially appealed. In this place also he is stating the opinion of some, who taught that the Son of God is not a subsisting being, distinct from the Father, but only "the power which is from the Father of all things" (τὴν δύναμιν παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων). To their heresy he goes on to oppose the Catholic opinion in the following words⁴: "This power, which the word of prophecy⁴ calls both God (as has been also proved at length,) and Angel, is not reckoned [another] only in name, as is the light of the sun, but is even numerically distinct, (ἀριθμῷ ἕτερον, 'another thing in number,') as I have in what goes before also briefly explained the matter, having said that this power was generated from the Father by His power and will, but not in the way of abscission, as if the Father's

³ veluti ex
professo.

⁴ sermo
propheti-
cus.

¹ καὶ ὅτι δύναμις αὐτῇ, ἣν καὶ Θεὸν καλεῖ ὁ προφητικὸς λόγος, [ὡς] διὰ πολλῶν ὡσαύτως ἀποδείκνυται, καὶ ἄγγελον, οὐχ ὡς τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου φῶς ὀνόματι μόνον

ἀριθμεῖται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀριθμῷ ἕτερόν τι ἐστὶ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς προειρημένοις διὰ βραχέων τὸν λόγον ἐξήτασα, εἰπὼν τὴν δύναμιν ταύτην γεγενῆσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ

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essence were divided into portions, (οὐ κατ' ἀποτομήν, ὡς ἀπομεριζομένης τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐσίας,) as all other things when divided and cut, are not the same as they were previous to their being divided. And for the sake of illustration, I took the fires which are as it were lighted from a fire, which we see are distinct¹, while that from which many may be lighted is not diminished, but remains the same." Here Justin plainly teaches, that the Son is "numerically distinct," ἀριθμῷ ἕτερον, "another thing in number," or in person, from the Father, but not different in nature; inasmuch as He is begotten of the very essence of God the Father, (not indeed by a cutting or partition of the divine essence, but by a simple communication of it; some such communication as there is in the case of fire, between the fire which produces another, without any loss or diminution of itself, and the fire itself which is produced,) and accordingly is a Son consubstantial with God His Father, and true God equally with Him. See what we have further noted on this passage of Justin in the Defence of the Nicene Creed, ii. 4. § 3, 4. [p. 137.] Now from all this it is clear, that, between the opinion of Justin, and that of those who taught that Christ was only a man born of human parents, there is the widest difference. For on the one side Christ is held to be a mere created being, nay nothing more than a simple man; and on the other, He is declared to be the Son of God, coessential with God His Father, and consequently very God in the highest sense².

² ipsissimus.³ consecrarium quoddam.

9. After these arguments (which indeed are scarcely worthy of a man of sense, who is even slightly acquainted with the writings of Justin,) Episcopi subjoins a corollary³, in which, if he is mistaken, the whole of his preceding argument, even on his own admission, will fall to the ground. For from what he had previously said, he concludes, "that Justin did not mean the Ebionites by those OF HIS OWN RACE." But how did he arrive at this conclusion? "It is," he says, "by no means probable that Justin meant those persons by this phrase, not only because he has nowhere in his writings

πατρὸς, δυνάμει καὶ βουλῇ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' οὐ κατ' ἀποτομήν, ὡς ἀπομεριζομένης τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς οὐσίας, ὅποια τὰ ἄλλα πάντα μεριζόμενα καὶ τεμνόμενα οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ εἶσιν ἃ καὶ πρὶν τμηθῆναι· καὶ παρα-

δείγματος χάριν παρειλήφην τὰ ὡς ἀπὸ πυρὸς ἀναπτύμενα πυρὰ, [ἃ] ἕτερα ὁρώμεν, οὐδὲν ἐλαττούμενον ἐκείνου ἐξ οὗ ἀναφθῆναι πολλὰ δύνανται, ἀλλὰ ταῦτοῦ μένοντος.—p. 358. [§ 128. p. 221.]

mentioned the Ebionites, but also because they seem to have been the dregs of mankind; seeing that their teacher is reported to have heaped calumnies on the Apostle Paul, to have charged Peter with lies, and to have called^u him in part a Jew, an Essene, a Nazarene, a Cerinthian, a Carpocratian; and who moreover, as Eusebius testifies, Eccl. Hist. iii. 27, believed, that Christ was born of the union of Joseph and Mary, and taught that the ceremonies of the law of Moses were to be observed: so that it is utterly improbable that Justin should speak of them as 'of his own race.' Thus does Episcopus admit that it is utterly improbable that Justin should have accounted the Ebionites to be of his own race; (so far, that is, as this expression was thought by [Episcopus] himself to indicate close union and community of faith;) on the ground of their being the dregs of mankind and teaching many impious opinions. But who does not perceive, that by this admission the learned man has in fact destroyed his own cause? For that Justin is speaking of no other than the Ebionites, I have already most clearly shewn. But it is also strange what Episcopus could mean, when he proves from Eusebius that the Ebionites believed Christ to have been born of the union of Joseph and Mary, from that concluding that Justin is certainly not speaking of the Ebionites. As if, indeed, Justin had not manifestly intimated, that the heretics, of whom he speaks, taught that Christ was "a human being begotten of human parents" (*ἄνθρωπον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γεννηθέντα*). What! was Episcopus ignorant of the meaning of these words? Does not a person, who says that Christ is a human being begotten of human parents, in effect say, that Christ was born of the union of a man and a woman (that is, of Joseph and Mary)? Surely, He who was conceived and formed in the womb of a pure virgin by the Holy Ghost, without the cohabitation of man, cannot be said to be a human being born of human parents. Moreover, what is meant by Christ being a man born of human parents, is clearly set forth throughout this Dialogue of Justin with Trypho. For in it Trypho at great length ridicules the faith

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VII. § 8, 9.

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^u I nowhere find that Ebion called Justin partly a Jew, an Essene, &c. But that Ebion was himself partly a

Jew, an Essene, &c., Epiphanius informs us, Hærec. xxx.

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of Christians respecting Jesus being born of the Virgin Mary, putting it on the same level with the fables of the Greeks about Perseus being born of the virgin Danae by the descent of Jove upon her in the form of gold, and then subjoining^x ; “And you ought to be ashamed to say the same as they, and should rather say that this Jesus was a human being, begotten of human parents.” Must not every one see what is the meaning of the phrase, “a human being begotten of human parents,” in this place? In another passage of the same Dialogue, Justin himself proves out of the ancient prophets, that Christ was to be born of a virgin, and thence concludes^y, “that the Christ is not a human being [born] of human parents, begotten after the ordinary manner of men.” Lastly, in this very passage in question, Justin shews clearly enough, what was meant by the heretics who said, that Christ was a man born of human parents. For in the very outset of the paragraph he declares this to have been his own, that is, the Catholic, opinion respecting Christ our Lord^z, “that He both existed previously as the Son of the Creator of all things, being God, and also was born man of the Virgin.” After this he subjoins the opinion of the heretics as contrary to the Catholic doctrine, namely, that Christ was “a human being born of human beings.” Whence it is clear, that those heretics departed from the Catholic view in two respects ; in that they taught, 1. That Christ is man only, not the Son of God existing previous to [His birth of] Mary ; 2. That Christ is a human being begotten of human beings, not born of the Virgin Mary by the overshadowing of the Holy Ghost.

Surely from this and other like evidences we may conclude, that Episcopus and the Remonstrants read this passage of Justin, about which they have made so much noise, most hastily at first, (carried away no doubt by the sound of words, which seemed at the first hearing to be manifestly favourable to their preconceived hypothesis,) and further that they had not afterwards accurately weighed either the preceding or the

^x καὶ ὑμεῖς τὰ αὐτὰ ἐκείνοις λέγοντες αἰδεῖσθαι ὀφείλετε, καὶ μᾶλλον ἄνθρωπον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γενόμενον λέγειν τὸν Ἰησοῦν τοῦτον.—p. 291. [§ 6, 7. p. 164.]
^y ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ Χριστὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, κατὰ τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων

γεννηθεῖς.—[§ 54. p. 150.]

^z ὅτι καὶ προϋπήρχεν υἱὸς τοῦ ποιητοῦ τῶν ὅλων, Θεὸς ὢν, καὶ γεγέννηται ἄνθρωπος διὰ τῆς παρθένου.—[Dial. cum Tryph. § 48. p. 144.]

following words, nay, nor even the very words themselves. Be that however as it may, it is most certain that it is altogether in vain that these learned men have alleged the passage for the purpose of proving that "the ancient and primitive Christian Church held communion with those who believed and professed that Christ Jesus is nothing more than a mere man, in other words, a human being born of human beings, and that He was made the Christ by election."

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VII. § 9.

To the most holy and undivided Trinity, God the Father and His consubstantial and coeternal Word and Son, incarnate for our Salvation, together with the Holy Ghost the Comforter; be ascribed by angels and by men all praise, honour, and glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

THE END.

Nelson's title of this work [see his *Life of Bp. Bull*, p. 333,]
runs thus :—

"The primitive and apostolical Tradition of the Doctrine received in the Catholic Church, concerning the Divinity of our Saviour Jesus Christ, asserted and evidently demonstrated against Daniel Zwicker the Prussian, and his late Followers in England."

THE
PRIMITIVE AND APOSTOLIC
TRADITION
OF
THE DOCTRINE RECEIVED IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH,
CONCERNING
THE DIVINITY
OF
OUR SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST,
SET FORTH, AND CLEARLY PROVED
IN OPPOSITION TO
DANIEL ZWICKER, A PRUSSIAN,
AND HIS RECENT FOLLOWERS IN ENGLAND.
BY
GEORGE BULL, D.D.

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INTRODUCTION.

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1. THAT our Saviour, Jesus Christ, is not man only, but also the living and subsisting Word of God ; who, before any created being came into existence, and therefore from everlasting, was with God, and was God ; by whom all things were made, which were made, whether visible or invisible ; who also in the fulness of time, for us men and our salvation, was made flesh, that is to say, assumed true human nature of the Virgin into the unity of His person ;—is the manifest doctrine of the Holy Scriptures of the New Testament, propagated and preserved by the uniform and continuous tradition of all the Churches which were founded by the Apostles of Christ. But, notwithstanding, there formerly were and still are, and that too, alas ! in our own England, ungodly men instigated by Satan, although bearing the name of Christians, who not only have not acknowledged this sacred doctrine, but have even opposed it with all their might, and assailed it also with the foulest reproaches and blasphemies. The testimonies of Scripture, which clearly proclaim Christ as God, are eluded by these Ebionites of our country, although not by all of them in the same way. Most of them miserably wrest these passages, after the manner of their forefathers, and draw them to meanings which are quite inconsistent with the context, and with what is manifestly the proper meaning of the words. While some^a have proceeded to such a pitch of impudence and impiety, that (as if they had conspired with

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TION.

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^a See the "Historical Vindication of the naked Gospel," in the preface [published 1690]; and the "Judgment of the Fathers," p. 22. [1695.]

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¹ si virbius
esset.

Turks and Mahometans for the ruin of Christianity) they have ventured openly to declare, that the Scriptures of the New Testament have been foully corrupted and interpolated by Catholic Christians. Against these monsters of Christians indeed Socinus himself would, if he could be restored to life¹, denounce an anathema^b. With regard, however, to the tradition of the Church, they all contend that no true tradition, such, that is, as is derived from the very times of the Apostles, can be produced in support of the Catholic view; that the Apostles themselves and their immediate successors preached the pure and simple Gospel; taught, that is, the view which themselves hold, of Christ being in His own nature merely man; but that not long afterwards, the mystery of iniquity forsooth even then working, the purity and simplicity of the Gospel became corrupted by the Platonic philosophers who embraced the Christian religion, and especially by Justin.

2. The person from whom they derived this absurd opinion, unless I am greatly mistaken, was the writer of the *Irenicum Irenicorum*, an active and violent Ebionite, who, as I found after a long time from the *Bibliotheca Antitrinitariorum*^c, was Daniel Zwicker. For this man in his *Irenicum*^d, proposing to investigate the origin of the alteration, as he calls it, of the apostolical doctrine concerning Christ, tells us this very long story; In the first place, that it is probable that the followers of Simon Magus corrupted the sound doctrine concerning God and Christ, by inventing a new generation of Christ, and introducing a new Christ: and that this is attested by Hegesippus, in Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. iv. 22. Then, that those heretics composed some verses under the name of Orpheus, about the Father's Voice being put forth [243] by Him before the foundation of the world. Further, that Justin, misled chiefly by these arts and follies of the Simonians, and relying, as did others, on the verses called 'Orpheus', propounded his views concerning the generation of Christ from the Father, before the creation of the world, as the mind, voice, and reason of the Father, in order that the world might be created by Him, and that He might

^b Vide Socin. de Auctorit. S. Script. cap. 1. § 3. [Op., tom. i. p. 275.]
^c [(p. 152). The *Bibliotheca Antitrinitariorum* (published 1684) is a

work of Sandius, see Nelson's Life of Bull, p. 334. B.]

^d Pp. 14—16.

come down unto men, and at length also be made man. Lastly, that there were various other causes, which might have led Justin, and those who followed him, to take up such opinions as these,—for instance, their knowledge of and fondness for the Platonic philosophy; the remembrance of Gentilism and of a plurality of Gods not wholly obliterated [from their minds]; the custom of placing distinguished men in the number of the Gods; their scruples and dread of worshipping one, who is only a human being, &c. From all which he at last concludes, that the business is settled, and the origin of the view respecting the new putting forth¹ of Christ, and so¹ respecting a new Christ, is manifest.

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TION.
§ 1—3.

3. When I read this many years ago in the author of the *Irenicum*, I presently drew up a brief refutation of the monstrous fable, without any thought, however, of publishing it. But observing that these wild notions of Zwicker's have not long ago been brought on the stage again, not without considerable show and parade, by the Unitarians here in England, I revised that short refutation, and enlarged it as I had occasion; and thus enlarged, (at the publisher's request, that, if I had any treatise written at length ready by me, I would allow it to be added to a new edition of my previously published works, which he had undertaken,) I here, gentle reader, present it to you, and to your favourable consideration.

2

THAT JUSTIN WAS NOT THE FIRST TO INTRODUCE INTO THE CHRISTIAN CHURCHES
THE DOCTRINE OF OUR SAVIOUR'S PREEXISTENCE BEFORE THE FOUNDATION OF
THE WORLD, AND OF THE CREATION OF ALL THINGS BY HIM.

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¹ ruituro.

1. FIRST of all, the author of the *Irenicum* lays down this as a foundation for his precarious ¹ building, that Justin was the first who introduced into the Churches the doctrine of the generation of the Son of God from God the Father before the foundation of the world. For he says that Justin, being misled by the deceit of the Gnostics, was the first to propound this opinion. In another passage likewise (in p. 72 of his *Irenicum*) he declares in express terms; "that no one earlier than Justin Martyr can be adduced, that has in his writings ascribed a divine nature to Christ, and said that He was God before all worlds; and that the opinion of the Artemonites (who taught that Christ was a mere man) prevailed in the Church from the very time of the Apostles, at least before the time of Justin, and that it was afterwards at length altered." He has been followed by our modern English Socinians, or Unitarians, as they are fond of being called; and among them chiefly by the author of a short treatise ² in English, entitled, "The Judgment of the Fathers concerning the Doctrine of the Trinity, in opposition to the Defence of the Nicene Creed by Dr. George Bull." Throughout this treatise the writer makes Justin the first originator of the doctrine of the Son of God coexisting with God the Father before every creature. What man, however, in his sound senses can put any faith in this story? For in addition to the extreme improbability that a man of the greatest wisdom and piety (such as Justin certainly was), either, considering his wisdom, could have been so shamefully deceived in a fundamental doctrine of Christianity by the devices of heretics, and those the most

² libelli.

abandoned; or, considering his piety, would have been inclined to invent new doctrines, and even to introduce a new faith, as far as possible removed from the faith of his predecessors, and the tradition of the Apostles (of which he could not have been ignorant, since he flourished in the first succession¹ after the Apostles); setting aside, I say, this consideration, although it is enough of itself to confute this absurd conceit, we have other arguments at hand, which afford most evident proof that the doctrine of the preexistence of the Son of God before the foundation of the world, and also of the creation of all things by Him, was not a peculiar invention of Justin's, but the common received belief of the Church, before his time.

CHAP. I.
§ 1, 2.

¹ ἐν πρώτῃ
διαδοχῇ.

2. First, Justin, in his Dialogue with Trypho, himself expressly asserts, that not only he, but also the Christians of his own time, all thought and believed, that Christ preexisted as God before the worlds; with the exception of a few, whom he denotes by the word *τῶν*, and who were manifestly heretics; inasmuch as they denied not only our Saviour's preexistence before the worlds, but also His birth of the Virgin. The passage is given at length, and very fully explained, in the Judgment of the Catholic Church, chap. vii. Justin, again, wrote and published his confession of the divinity of Christ, not merely as his own, or as a private [opinion], but as the public and well-known belief and opinion of all that were truly Christians in his own time, and that before the Emperor and Senate of Rome, as is clear from his Admonition to the Heathen, and both his Apologies. What then? Was this agreement of opinion among Christians owing to Justin alone? Did he himself travel over the whole world to preach the divinity of Christ? or had he apostles of his own to disseminate his doctrine among all nations? Was it possible that he, a single individual, could destroy the force of the apostolical tradition, change the faith previously received in the Church, and even obtrude on the Christian world (in Zwicker's words) "a new Christ?" Did no one of the disciples of the Apostles venture to withstand this most shameless innovator? not even Polycarp himself, who had John the Apostle for his teacher, and who was alive when Justin put forth and maintained in his writings, as the

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common belief of Christians, his doctrine of the divinity of the Son, and who survived till a long time after? Surely no one of sound understanding will think this credible.

3. Besides, there are extant, even at this day, writings of fathers who lived some years before Justin, and even in the apostolic age itself, I mean the Catholic Epistle of Barnabas, the Shepherd of Hermas, and the Epistles of the martyr Ignatius, from which we adduced the clearest testimonies in behalf of the divinity of our Saviour, and vindicated them at length from the cavils of the author of the *Irenicum* in our Defence of the Nicene Creed, book ii. chap. 2. These works, indeed, the English writer whom we have mentioned above wholly despises, and even, as his way is, assails their authors with reproaches and derision. But far other has been the judgment respecting them of the most learned men, both of ancient and modern times, in comparison of whose judgment the criticism of that buffoon is not worth a straw. As respects the Shepherd of Hermas, however, and the Epistle ascribed to Barnabas, we firmly maintain these two points, which he has not ventured to deny, and which are sufficient for our purpose:—1. That these works are of the earliest period of [Christian] antiquity, and so more ancient than Justin Martyr. 2. That they were also so much approved by the Church, that at the first they were read publicly in the religious assemblies of Christians, together with the canonical Scriptures. And that the seven Epistles of Ignatius, known to Eusebius, and edited in Greek by Isaac Vossius (which alone we have used), are the genuine production of the holy martyr, has been abundantly proved [247] by our most learned Pearson, in his Vindication of the Epistles of St. Ignatius, to whom I refer the reader.

4. In addition, there were pious and learned men before the time of Justin, who published Apologies for our religion in opposition to the heathen; amongst whom Quadratus, Bishop of Athens, and Aristides, were conspicuous, who presented their Apologies to the Emperor Adrian, near the beginning of his reign. It was necessary for these apologists to vindicate the Christians from the charge of worshipping human beings¹, which was brought against them by the heathen, and to remove that well-worn objection, “You

¹ ἀνθρώπου-
λατρίας.

worship a human being that was born and crucified ^a.” Nor was it possible for any one to meet this objection without declaring his own view respecting the Person of our Saviour, and shewing that he was himself either catholic or heretical on that article. But that Quadratus and Aristides had proved themselves catholic in their apologetic writings, is attested by Eusebius and Jerome. Of Quadratus, Eusebius writes thus ^b; “Quadratus addressed and presented to him (Adrian) an oration which he had written as a defence of our religion; the work is still extant in the hands of many of the brethren, and we ourselves also have it, and from it we may see clear proofs both of the understanding of the writer and of his apostolical orthodoxy.” In the same chapter he places Aristides, his contemporary, as a writer of the same character ¹ as Quadratus. In like manner Jerome calls the Apology of Quadratus ^c, “a very useful book, full of reason and faith, and worthy of apostolic teaching.” And of Aristides he writes thus in the next chapter ^d; “Aristides, a most eloquent Athenian philosopher, and one who retained his ancient [philosophic] dress as a disciple of Christ, presented to the Emperor Adrian a book containing the grounds of our doctrine, at the same time as Quadratus.” So that there is no doubt, that, in the opinion of Jerome, Aristides, in his Apology, as well as Quadratus, held to the model and rule of the Catholic and Apostolic faith. I will express the force of this argument in a few words. It is certain that the Catholic Church, in the time of Quadratus and Aristides, (and even from the beginning,) attributed divine honours to Jesus Christ, as we shall presently shew in this chapter. It is also certain, that the heathen alleged this especially as an accusation against the Christians, and that it was, therefore, necessary for those who undertook the defence of the Christian religion to meet this objection in the first place; which, as we also see,

¹ notæ.

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^a See Arnob. i. pp. 24 and 31. [c. 36, 37, and 40, 41. ed. Orellii.]

^b [τούτῳ Κοδράτος λόγον προσφώνησας ἀναβιβῶσιν, ἀπολογία συντάξας ὑπὲρ τῆς καθ’ ἡμᾶς θεοσεβείας, ... εἰσέτι δὲ φέρεται παρὰ πλείστοις τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ἀτὰρ καὶ παρ’ ἡμῶν τὸ σύγγραμμα,] ἐξ οὗ κατιδεῖν ἐστὶ λαμπρὰ τεκμήρια τῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς διανοίας, καὶ τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ὁρθοτομίας.—[Eccles. Hist. iv. 3.]

^c Librum valde utilem, plenum rationis et fidei, et apostolica doctrina dignum.—In Catal. Scriptor. Eccl. in Quadrato. [c. 19. p. 847.]

^d Aristides Atheniensis philosophus eloquentissimus, et sub pristino habitu discipulus Christi, volumen nostri dogmatis rationem continens eodem tempore, quo et Quadratus, Hadriano principi dedit.—[Ibid. c. 20.]

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was done by all the Apologists whose writings have come down to us. Lastly, it is certain that the Catholic Church of Christ (as also the Jewish Church before the coming of Christ) held it as a fixed and settled point, that Divine worship ought to be ascribed to God alone, and therefore that to give it to a mere man, or a created being, was simply idolatry; that this determination of the universal Church is supported both by the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, and also by sound reasonings, we shall afterwards prove clearly in its right place^e. Now, from this it follows, that no one could have defended the worship and religion of Christians in a way agreeable to the principles of the Catholic Church, who did not himself acknowledge Christ to be truly God. But Eusebius and Jerome expressly testify that the Apologies of Quadratus and Aristides were specially Catholic, that is, were wholly consonant to the Catholic model¹ and the Apostolic faith. To them you may add, if you will, an observation of Petavius in the Preface to the second volume of his *Dogmata Theologica*^f, to the effect that in the Roman Martyrology, and also in those of Ado, Notker, &c., it is stated that^g “Aristides, an Athenian, presented to the Emperor Adrian a book respecting the Christian religion, containing the grounds of our doctrine; and that in the presence of the emperor himself he most clearly maintained in an oration that Christ Jesus is alone God.”

5. Further, we must here repeat the very distinct testimony of Eusebius, which we adduced in another place^h, from his *Eccl. Hist.* iv. 5, where he writes, “that he had learned from the records of ancient writersⁱ that all the fifteen bishops, who presided over the Church of Jerusalem, down to the time of Adrian, although they were of the circumcision, yet received the knowledge of Christ sincerely” (τὴν γνῶσιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ γνησίως καταδέξασθαι). But certainly, at least in the judgment of Eusebius, they alone received

^e Chap. viii.

^f [C. ii. 8.]

^g Athenis sancti Aristidis . . . qui Hadriano principi de religione Christiana volumen obtulit, nostri dogmatis continens rationem; et quod Christus Jesus solus esset Deus, præsentē ipso imperatore, luculentissime peroravit.

^h Judgment of the Catholic Church, ii. 11. [p. 38.]

ⁱ [The words “*veterum scriptorum monumentis*,” which Bishop Bull cites, are in the Latin version. The Greek is simply ἐξ ἐγγράφων, “from written records.”]

the knowledge of Christ sincerely, who confessed that "He preexisted, being God and Wisdom" (*προϋπάρχειν αὐτὸν, Θεὸν ὄντα καὶ σοφίαν*), as Eusebius himself interprets his own words, Eccl. Hist. iii. 27, where by this description he distinguishes the Catholics and orthodox from the heretical Ebionites, who, he says, entertained poor and low opinions as regarded Christ" (*πτωχῶς καὶ ταπεινῶς τὰ περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δοξάζοντας*). But what reply does the author of the work entitled "The Judgment of the Fathers," &c. make to this testimony of Eusebius? Hear it, and admire the shamelessness of the man^k; "We grant that Eusebius says that the Jerusalem-bishops 'professed the true knowledge of Christ;' we answer, he borrowed this from Hegesippus. . . . But Hegesippus himself being a Jewish Christian, that is, one that believed our Saviour to be a man only, when he said, the Jerusalem-bishops professed 'the true knowledge of Christ,' he undoubtedly meant, that our Lord was a true and mere man; against the Docetæ . . . who held His preexistence, and denied that He was a [true] man." But, 1, he must needs make the great Eusebius to be altogether stupid, and a man of no ability or judgment, who believes that he was so grossly mistaken in alleging the authors whose testimonies he used. Eusebius says that he had learned from the records of ancient writers, that the Bishops of Jerusalem, down to the time of Adrian, had received the knowledge of Christ sincerely; that is, in his meaning, had acknowledged the true divinity of Christ our Lord. But, if we are to believe this trifler, the authors, or the author, to whom he referred, meant the very contrary; namely, that those bishops were Ebionites, that is, held our Saviour to be a mere man. 2. Eusebius does not mention the name of Hegesippus, as he is accustomed to do when he cites anything out of him; but only says generally that he had learned this "out of the writings" of the ancients (*ἐξ ἐγγράφων*). Now surely, besides Hegesippus, Eusebius had read very many other writers, which were supplied to him by the ample library formed at Jerusalem by Alexander, bishop of that city; of which he writes thus,

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^k [P. 43. Bishop Bull omits "and "man," which is here enclosed in other platonizing Christians," after brackets.]
"Docetæ," and inserts "true" before

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Eccl. Hist. vi. 20¹; "At this time," (*i.e.* in the reign of Antoninus,) "there flourished many learned men of the Church, whose letters written to each other are preserved, and may still easily be found. They have been kept also till our time in the library at Ælia (Jerusalem) which was formed by Alexander, who at that time governed the Church there, from which (library) we ourselves also have been able to collect together the materials for the subjects we have in hand." Besides, Eusebius had at hand the famous library of the martyr Pamphilus, in which were stored [the works of] ecclesiastical writers collected from all quarters by that most blessed man, concerning which see Euseb. Eccl. Hist. vi. 32. 3. Allow that Eusebius had derived this from Hegesippus, what then? "Hegesippus," he says, "was a Unitarian, and believed Christ our Saviour to be a mere man." Nothing can be more untrue. I ask, Whence, from what authority, did he learn this? From Zwicker only (as I conceive), the author of the *Irenicum*, whom he everywhere blindly follows, even when he leads him among precipices. But that Hegesippus was Catholic, and uniformly continued in the communion of the Catholic Church, in which the belief of Christ as God and man prevailed, we shall afterwards^m prove most evidently in a more convenient place.

6. After the testimony of Eusebius, (not in the first place, as the sophist with whom we are now dealing shamelessly affirms,) we adducedⁿ the witness of Sulpitius Severus, a most grave historian: who in his Sacred History, ii. 45, writes expressly, that the primitive Church of Jerusalem, which, down to the times of Adrian, had its Bishops from the circumcision only, "believed in Christ as God, under the observance of the Law." What reply does that trifler make here again? When, he says^o, Sulpitius affirms, that those Christians "believed in Christ-God, I have proved it to be a mistake by the testimony of those fathers who lived among

¹ [ἤκμαζον δὲ κατὰ τοῦτο πλείους λόγοι καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ ἄνδρες, ὧν καὶ ἐπιστολαὶ ἄς πρὸς ἀλλήλους διεχάραττον ἔτι καὶ νῦν σωζομένας εὖρεῖν εὐπορον, αἱ καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐφυλάχθησαν ἐν τῇ κατὰ Αἰλίαν βιβλιοθήκῃ, πρὸς τοῦ τῆνικαδε τὴν αὐτόθι διέποντος ἐκκλησίαν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπισκευασθείση, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ αὐτοὶ

τὰς ὕλας τῆς μετὰ χεῖρας ὑποθέσεως ἐπὶ ταῦτ' ἀναγαγεῖν δεδυνήμεθα.—vi. 20.]

^m Chap. iii.

ⁿ See the Judgment of the Catholic Church, p. 45. [p. 41.]

^o [Judgment of the Fathers, &c. p. 40.]

the Jewish-Christians, namely, Origen and Theodoret; and of other fathers who were much nearer to them than Sulpitius, even Epiphanius and St. Augustine.” Nothing certainly can be more foolish than this answer. Sulpitius is speaking of the primitive Church of Jerusalem, which flourished under bishops of its own of the circumcision down to the destruction of the city under Adrian. But what? Did Origen and Theodoret converse with these Jewish-Christians? Were Epiphanius and St. Augustine nearer to them than Sulpitius? Sulpitius expressly affirms of the Christians of the primitive Church of Jerusalem that they believed in Christ as God. Eusebius had stated the same previously to Sulpitius, and that out of the most ancient records of that Church. Did then Origen, or Theodoret, or Epiphanius, or Augustine, or any other of the ancients, contradict Eusebius and Sulpitius on this point? Certainly not. They are speaking of the Jewish-Christians, be they Ebionites or Nazarenes, of their own, that is of a much later time, and that in a different respect. However, of the Nazarenes of later times, and their view respecting the person of Christ, I have treated at length in the Judgment of the Catholic Church, ii. 13, [p. 41.] &c. It will be worth while to repeat here the chief heads of what I wrote in that place, and to vindicate them from the cavils of a troublesome opponent.

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7. In the first place I alleged the testimony of Augustine as to the opinions of the Nazarenes in these words^p; “While Augustine, in his work on Heresies, after treating in chap. 8 of the Cerinthians, as having taught ‘that men ought to be circumcised in the flesh, and observe other precepts of the Law of this kind, that Jesus was simply man,’ &c.; goes on in chapters 9 and 10 thus to expound the doctrines of the Nazarenes and the Ebionites; ‘Although the Nazarenes confess that Christ is the Son of God,’ (and consequently thus far differ from the Cerinthians, who regard Him as man only,) ‘yet they observe all the ceremonies of the ancient law,’ (in this agreeing with the Cerinthians,) ‘which Christians by the tradition of the Apostles have been taught not to observe carnally, but to understand spiritually. The Ebionites also for their part’ (*i.e.* just like the Cerinthians,

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^p [Judgment of the Catholic Church, ii. 13. See above, p. 41, note.]

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¹ διακρι-
κῶς.

² ante om-
nia sæcula.
—BULL.

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of whom he had been speaking a little before) ‘say that He is only a man. They observe the carnal ordinances of the Law, &c.’ Here it is plain (in spite of the cavils of the author of the *Irenicum*) that Augustine meant to distinguish the Nazarenes both from the Cerinthians and from the Ebionites in this point, that the Nazarenes acknowledged that Christ *was not man only*, as the Cerinthians and the Ebionites thought, but *the Son of God*,” (that is in a distinctive sense¹) “and consequently God.” On this my adversary accuses^a me of shamelessness, because I wished to infer from this testimony of Augustine, that the Nazarenes “held that Christ was in such sense the Son of God,” as “that He was born of God from all eternity²,” when I was myself conscious that the Ebionites also, who believed Christ to be a mere man, nevertheless acknowledged Him as the Son of God. I reply, that the Ebionites said indeed that Christ was the Son of God, but by no means in the sense of Augustine, or of the Nazarenes of whom Augustine is speaking. For in this point Augustine manifestly distinguishes the Nazarenes from the Ebionites, that the former acknowledged Christ as the Son of God, but the latter did not. What is to be said of the fact, that he manifestly opposes the view of the Nazarenes who confessed that our Saviour is the Son of God, to that of the Ebionites and Cerinthians, who taught that Christ was only man? In the sense of Augustine and the Nazarenes, therefore, to acknowledge Christ as the Son of God, is the same as professing that Christ is not a mere man. After that, the sophist, as if he would correct our interpretation of Augustine, and bring out his genuine text and meaning, goes on thus^r; “But let us recite the very words of St. Austin, *De Hæres.* c. 9, 10; ‘The Nazarenes, as they confess Christ is the Son of God, so they observe the whole Law; the which, Christians have been taught that ’tis to be understood and taken spiritually, not carnally. The Ebionites also say, that Christ is a man only, and observe the carnal precepts of the Law.’ These words, ‘the Ebionites also say that Christ is a man only,’ would be nonsense, if the Nazarenes, of whom he speaks immediately before, had not likewise so held.” But this is not to recite the very words of Augustine, but to

^a Judgment of the Fathers, p. 43.

^r [Ibid.]

corrupt and destroy his entire text. Instead of *cum*, that is "although," which Augustine uses in detailing the opinion of the Nazarenes, he substitutes *sicut*; for *tamen*, which is in Augustine, he puts *ita*; and, which is the chief point, the sophist has omitted altogether what Augustine says of the opinion of the Cerinthians in the chapter immediately preceding, although without that the genuine meaning of Augustine in what follows can in nowise be perceived or comprehended. But if you attend to this which goes before, it will be manifest that this *etiam*, "also," which Augustine uses in stating the opinions of the Ebionites, ought altogether to be referred not to the Nazarenes, but to the Cerinthians. Let the learned and fair-minded reader go to Augustine himself^a, and he will, I have no doubt, wholly agree with me.

8. To the testimony of Augustine I subjoined the witness of Jerome, who writes thus of the Nazarenes (with whom he had himself conversed familiarly), in his 89th Epistle^t; "To this very day there exists through all the synagogues of the East a heresy among the Jews, called that of the Minæi, who are commonly called Nazarenes; these believe in Christ, [as] the Son of God, born of the Virgin Mary; and they say that it was He who suffered under Pontius Pilate, and rose from the dead, in whom we also believe. But whilst they would be both Jews and Christians, they are neither Jews nor Christians." In these words Jerome, agreeing with Augustine, says that the Nazarenes believed in Christ [as] the Son of God; and not content with this, he explains himself, affirming that they believed in that Son of God in whom we also (that is, Catholics) believe; so that in this doctrine respecting the Son of God, he acknowledges no distinction at all between the Catholics and the Nazarenes. Hear, reader, if you can without horror, what his impure and sacrilegious tongue says in reply to this^u; "One would have thought, that when the Nazarenes say here, We believe in the Son of God, that was born of the Virgin Mary, was put to death under Pontius Pilate, and rose again from the dead;

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^a [Vol. viii. p. 7. The words themselves are cited in the Judgment of the Catholic Church, ii. 13, above, p. 42.]

the Judgment of the Catholic Church, ii. 13. pp. 42, 43.]

^u Judgment of the Fathers, pp. 43, 44.

^t [Ep. cxii. 13. vol. i. p. 740. See

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they had sufficiently declared, that the Son of God in whom they believed was the man Christ Jesus ; not a Son of God that could not be born of the Virgin Mary, or die, or rise again. But because St. Jerome says, ‘in whom also we believe,’ Dr. Bull cries out, Look here, the Nazarenes believed in that Son of God in whom the orthodox believed. We think so too, Doctor ; because both parties believed in the Son of God, who was generated and born of Mary, died, and rose again ; though the orthodox (so called) invented also another Son of God ; a Son that could not be generated and born of Mary, a Son that could not die, a Son as old as His Father, a second Almighty, another Creator, first made known by the Council of Nice.” The meaning of this reply is to this effect : He who professes that he believes in the Son of God, born of a Virgin, who suffered under Pontius Pilate, and died, thereby intimates that he believes in a Son of God who is a mere man, not God ; since the Divine Nature, as being impassible, could not be born of a Virgin, die, and rise again from the dead. But the Nazarenes professed that they believed in the Son of God, born of a Virgin, &c. Therefore they did not believe in the Son of God, who Himself is God. But yet the Catholic Church before the Council of Nice, and, as Jerome attests, the Nazarenes, agreeing with the Catholics, always believed in the Son of God, who, when He was Himself God, assumed human flesh of a Virgin at the fore-appointed time, and in that flesh died, and afterwards rose again from the dead. For he says, that the Nazarenes believed “in that Son of God in whom we also” (that is, the Catholics) “believe.” Besides, in that Epistle Jerome had undertaken to shew and to prove, in opposition to Augustine (whom he had imagined to be opposed to him on that question), that they who observed the ritual law of Moses had always been accounted heretics by the Church. He endeavours to prove this, first, by the instances of the Cerinthians and the Ebionites ; but, as he was conscious that Ebion had been condemned as heretical by the Church, because he denied the divinity of Christ, and that Cerinthus had been erased from the list of Christians both for that same heresy, and for other impious doctrines ; he therefore of his own accord retreats from the instance of Cerinthus and Ebion, intending to make fight

with another argument, drawn from the Nazarenes, which would cut off all handle for cavil. "Why should I speak," he says, "of the Ebionites, who pretend that they are Christians? Even to this day, through all the synagogues of the East," &c. As if he said; You will perhaps raise a question about the Ebionites, and indeed I do not deny that they entertained impious opinions about Christ our Lord, in that they teach that He is nothing more than man, and therefore, although they pretend that they are Christians, yet are they by no means to be regarded as truly Christians: but certainly you will have nothing to reply respecting the Nazarenes; for although they entertain with ourselves right views respecting the person of our Saviour, yet are they regarded by the Church as heretical, solely on account of their observance of the ceremonial law. These points you will see more fully explained by me, in the Judgment of the Catholic Church, in chapter ii. 13, from which I have already quoted [pp. 42, &c.]

СНАР. I.
§ 8, 9.

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9. From Augustine and Jerome I went up^v to a writer much earlier than they, I mean Justin Martyr, who lived as early as the time of Adrian, in whose reign the Church of the Christians of the circumcision at Jerusalem was driven from the city, and dispersed into various countries, and who published his works not long after that dispersion. From his Dialogue with Trypho the Jew, I evidently inferred that there were in his time men, who combined¹ with the observance of the ceremonial law of Moses the Catholic faith concerning Christ, even that by which it is believed that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, who existed before all created beings, and at the appointed time became incarnate for men's salvation, and was made man of the Virgin, &c.; but yet did not impose on other, that is to say, on Gentile, Christians, the necessity of observing that law. To these Justin professes his readiness to extend the right hand of brotherly love and fellowship. These, I assert, were none other than the Nazarenes, or Christians of Jerusalem, who had not so long before been expelled from their country by Adrian. Now, what does my shameless opponent say^x to this? "I answer," says he, "whoever they were, they were not the Nazarenes. Most

¹ misce-
rent.

^v In the Judgment of the Cath. Ch., the place cited, § 14. [p. 45.]

^x Judgment of the Fathers, p. 44.

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¹ temera-
rint.

² effugium.

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of the Gnostic sects, who also observed the Mosaic law, held the preexistence of our Saviour. What hinders, but that they might be the Cerinthians?" Which is just as much as to say, Whatever you may have proved, I will never retire from my preconceived hypothesis; I will invent anything, I will believe anything, rather than that the Nazarenes acknowledged the divinity of Christ. But there are very many things which shew that they were not Cerinthians, nor any other Gnostic sect. First, these Christians, of whom Justin is speaking, confessed the *ἐνσάρκωσις*, or real Incarnation, of the Son of God, which neither the Cerinthians nor any other sect of Gnostics acknowledged. See what I have written in the Defence of the Nicene Creed, iii. 1. 6. [p. 375,] and in the Judgment of the Catholic Church, ii. 4. [p. 27.] Again, the Christians of whom Justin is treating held the orthodox faith in all points necessary to be believed in order to salvation, and did not in anything differ from the Catholic Church of Christ, except that they themselves religiously observed the Mosaic rites. The Cerinthians, on the contrary, and all the other Gnostics, adulterated almost the whole Christian religion to such an extent, that there was scarcely any article of the Christian faith which they did not mar¹ with their corruptions. Besides, the Cerinthians and the rest of the Judaizing Gnostics, quite as much as the Ebionites, had taught that the ceremonial law of Moses must of necessity be observed by all. But the Judaizing Christians, of whom Justin is speaking, thought and taught otherwise. Lastly, Justin regarded these Judaizing Christians as brethren, and entertained good hope of their salvation; whereas it is clear that the most holy father altogether abhorred the Cerinthians and the rest of the Gnostics as most pestilent heretics, aliens from the Church of Christ, and so from the salvation which is to be obtained through Christ. Our opponent was, in my opinion, himself ashamed of the foolish answer, and, accordingly, sought some other way of escape². "Besides," he says, "it is uncertain whether Justin meant to say, that there were some Christians who keep the law of Moses, and yet believed that Christ was before Lucifer and the moon. To make out this sense, Dr. Bull is forced to add these words to the words of Justin, 'such a Christ as you before

described.'” But whoever carefully and attentively reads through the context of the passage of Justin entire, will see that I have by no means done violence to his words. Trypho had proposed certain questions to Justin about the salvation of godly men, both those who lived before the institution of the ceremonial law of Moses, and those who lived under that law. And Justin answers, that both will be saved in the world to come. Towards the end, however, of his answer to these questions, Justin describes⁷ that faith respecting Christ, which is required of us Christians in order to salvation, and states it to be of this kind, that, namely, whereby we believe “Christ to be the Son of God, who was both before the morning star and the moon” (ὅς καὶ πρὸ ἑωσφόρου καὶ σελήνης ἦν), “and endured to be made flesh of the seed of David, and to be born of the Virgin,” &c. Immediately after this follows the question of Trypho, whether they who now believe in Christ, and with that belief in Christ retain the observance of the ceremonial law of Moses, can be saved? Who now can doubt but that in this question of his he meant the same faith in Christ which Justin had described immediately before? I expressed the question of Trypho correctly, therefore, by this paraphrase; “But if there be even now any who desire to live in observance of the appointments of Moses, and also believe in this crucified Jesus, acknowledging that He is the Christ of God,” (that is to say, such as you, Justin, just now described,) “can they also be saved?”

10. Lastly, I adduced⁸ a testimony from the sixth book of the Apostolical Constitutions, the twelfth chapter of which bears this title, “Against such as confess, but yet wish to Judaize” (πρὸς τοὺς ὁμολογοῦντας, Ἰουδαΐζειν δὲ θέλοντας); such as confess, that is, the faith which had been set forth in the chapter immediately preceding, and specially that part of it which is rehearsed at the end of the chapter^a; “We acknowledge the Christ, not [as] a mere man, but [as] God the Word and Man, the Mediator between God and men.” From this I conclude, that, in the age in which the author of the Constitutions lived, there were some Christians who,

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⁷ Dial. cum Tryph. pp. 263, 264.
[§ 45. p. 141.]

⁸ [Judgment of the Catholic Church, p. 49.]

^a τὸν Χριστὸν οὐ ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον ὁμολογοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ Θεὸν λόγον καὶ ἄνθρωπον μεσίτην Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων.— [Apost. Const. vi. 11.]

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although they acknowledged Christ to be God and Man, still so far agreed with the Jews, and differed from the rest of the Christians, as that they still adhered to the ceremonial law of Moses. These, I assert, were the very Nazarenes themselves. To this assertion my opponent thus replies; "Mr. Bull must first prove that there was no other denomination of Christians" (except the Nazarenes) "who observed the Mosaic law, and also believed that Christ is God the Word. But he knows that the Cerinthians, and most of the Gnostic sects, did Judaize, and also believe the preexistence of our Saviour, and that He is God the Word." The man who could write thus betrays thereby either his own gross ignorance of ecclesiastical history, or at any rate consummate impudence. Neither the Cerinthians, nor any other sect of Gnostics, sincerely acknowledged Christ to be God the Word and Man, and the Mediator between God and men. Let the reader look back at what we have just now said on the testimony of Justin, which we last quoted. Besides, in that Confession of the Faith which is recited in the 11th chapter [261] [of the Apostolical Constitutions], and referred to in the title of the 12th chapter, there is not an article to which either the Cerinthians or any other Gnostic sect could have subscribed and sincerely assented. At the very commencement of that Confession, a death-blow is struck at the heresy of the Cerinthians, and of all other Gnostics^b; "We profess that there is one only God, the Lord of the law and the prophets, the Creator of all things, the Father of Christ." Parallel to which are the words that follow soon after^c; "One God, 8 Father of one Son, not of more, of one Paraclete through Christ, Maker of the other orders, one Creator, Maker through Christ of the different creatures¹, the same Provident Being², who gave the law through Him³." The sophist, accordingly, distrusting this reply of his, goes off soon afterwards into a digression, and wishes to lead us away into a controversy respecting the author of the Constitutions, as to whether he agreed with the Catholic Church on the subject

¹ διαφόρου κτίσεως.

² τὸν αὐτὸν προυννοητήν.

³ νομοθέτην δι' αὐτοῦ.

^b ἓνα μόνον Θεὸν καταγγέλλομεν, νόμου καὶ προφητῶν κύριον, τῶν ὄντων δημιουργόν, τοῦ Χριστοῦ πατέρα.—[vi. 11.]

^c ἓνα Θεόν, ἐνὸς υἱοῦ πατέρα, οὐ πλει-

όνων, ἐνὸς παρακλήτου διὰ Χριστοῦ, τῶν ἄλλων ταγμάτων ποιητήν, ἓνα δημιουργόν, διαφόρου κτίσεως διὰ Χριστοῦ ποιητήν· τὸν αὐτὸν προυννοητήν, νομοθέτην δι' αὐτοῦ.—[Ibid.]

of the Holy Trinity, or was infected with the taint of Arianism. On this question I have frankly declared my opinion in my Defence of the Nicene Creed, ii. 3. 6. [pp. 111, 112.] With respect, however, to that Confession of Faith which is contained in the 11th chapter, the intelligent reader will readily perceive some things in it which appear to savour of Arianism, and other things which no Arian could have acknowledged sincerely and without dissimulation. Of this kind is his professing, by way of distinction¹, that God is the Father of Christ, but “the Maker of all other things by Christ” (τὸν ποιητὴν διὰ Χριστοῦ). This is more clearly expressed in book vii. chap. 41, where the article of the Christian faith respecting the only-begotten Son of God is thus explained^d; “And in the Lord Jesus Christ, His only-begotten Son, begotten, not created, by whom all things were made.” In these words, Christ the Son of God is completely taken out of the class of created beings, and so is acknowledged as very God. But were we to grant that the author, in the Confession we have quoted, which occurs in the 11th chapter of the sixth book, had scattered some seeds of Arian heresy, it would by no means be a necessary consequence that “they who confess” (τοὺς ὁμολογούντας), who are mentioned in the title of the next chapter, were likewise Arians. For it is clear, that the author in that chapter meant indeed to give the entire rule of faith, everywhere received in the Christian Churches of his own time; although it is equally certain that that rule is given by him in paraphrase, his own explanations being here and there inserted; and it is manifest that persons might have confessed that rule of faith, who did not at all approve of all the glosses of the author, or rather interpolator.

11. I return at length to the point from which I made a digression, to which I was forced by my opponent. From the testimonies of the ancients which we have adduced above, it is perfectly clear that the Christians of the primitive Church of Jerusalem who were of the circumcision, received the knowledge of Christ our Lord sincerely (γνησίως), “in its genuine sense²,” that is, acknowledged His true divinity; and ² genuine.

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§ 10, 11.

¹ διακριτικῶς.

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^d καὶ εἰς τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν τὸν νηθέντα οὐ κτισθέντα δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα Χριστὸν, τὸν μονογενῆ αὐτοῦ υἱόν, γεν- ἐγένετο.—[vii. 41.]

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¹ adminis-
tristris.

that the same faith continued in that Church down to its dispersion in the time of the emperor Adrian. Now, if in the Church of Jerusalem, the mother of all other Churches, the doctrine of the divinity of our Saviour Christ was from the beginning acknowledged and received, and always, so long as the Church itself stood, faithfully preserved, it cannot be doubted but that in all the other Churches also, which were founded and constituted by either the Apostles themselves or their assistants¹, the same faith was propagated and disseminated.

² secum
invicem.

12. Lastly, it is clear from the Epistle of the younger Pliny to the emperor Trajan^e, written about the year of our Lord 106, that the Christians of that age were accustomed in their assemblies to celebrate the divinity of our Saviour in hymns and psalms. This fact he relates from the confession of apostate Christians in the following words^f; “And they affirmed that this was the sum of their fault, or error, that they were accustomed to meet on a fixed day before it was light, and to sing by course, one with another², a hymn to Christ as God.” To these psalms appeal was made by an ancient author of weight (in Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. v. 28), [in writing] against the Artemonites, who rejected the doctrine of the true divinity of Christ as a novelty; “Such psalms also,” he says^g, “and hymns of the brethren, as were written from the beginning (ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς) by the faithful, celebrate Christ the Word of God, setting Him forth as God” (τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν Χριστὸν ὑμνοῦσι θεολογούντες). So clear and obvious were the testimonies supplied by these psalms to the true divinity of Christ having been acknowledged by the apostolic and primitive Church, that Paul of Samosata, who revived the blasphemous heresy of Artemon, could not for this very reason endure them; and therefore ordered that they should be abolished in the Churches subject to his jurisdiction, as is testified by the fathers of the Council of Antioch convened against him, in their Synodical Epistle, in Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. vii. 30. I have no doubt that it was hymns of this description which

^e Lib. x. Epist. xevii.

^f Affirmabant autem, hanc fuisse summam vel culpæ suæ, vel erroris, quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem

convenire, carmenque Christo, quasi Deo, dicere secum invicem.

^g [See above, p. 58, notes ^d, ^e.]

the Apostle Paul had in his mind when he thus wrote in his Epistle to the Ephesians, v. 19; "Speaking to yourselves in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in your heart to the Lord," τῷ Κυρίῳ, *i.e.* to Christ; and let the reader observe by the way, that the Apostle's words, "speaking to yourselves" (λαλοῦντες ἑαυτοῖς), quite correspond to what Pliny says of the Christians, that they were accustomed "to sing in course one with another" a hymn to Christ as God. These words seem to signify the mode of singing alternately, which, even in the present day, is usual in churches. Now, from all that we have advanced in this chapter, it is at length established beyond all doubt or controversy, that the doctrine of the divinity of Christ was by no means an invention of Justin Martyr, but had obtained long before his time in the Christian Churches, and, further, was delivered and promulgated throughout all the world by the first preachers of the Gospel together with the Gospel itself, of which it certainly forms the principal part: and this was the point which I undertook to demonstrate.

CHAP. I.
§ 11, 12.

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THAT JUSTIN WAS NOT MISLED BY THE FRAUDS OF THE SIMONIANS, AND THAT THE OPINION OF THE DIVINITY OF THE SON DID NOT PROCEED FROM THE SCHOOL OF SIMON.

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¹ senten-
tiam.

² scilicet.

³ κατὰ
πόδας.

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1. THIS foundation being destroyed, that monstrous pile which the author of the *Irenicum* raised upon it falls to the ground of itself. For since it is now clearer than the light itself, that Justin was not the first to devise [the doctrine of] the generation of the Son before the foundation of the world, but that that doctrine¹ prevailed amongst Christians long before Justin was born, nay, in the very age of the Apostles, it would not be necessary to examine very carefully into the causes by which Justin was, forsooth², seduced into this erroneous opinion. As, however, we have determined to follow this author step by step³, and as in that way both his own blind perverseness, and also the truth itself, will be made more and more apparent, we shall, on these accounts, go on freely to discuss the causes which he has invented. Now the causes which he assigns are either primary, such, that is, as principally led Justin into, what he thinks, his error; or secondary and auxiliary, which led Justin himself further on in the same error. Under the former class, the heretic enumerates two causes: 1. The heresy of the Simonians; 2. The verses which were composed by those heretics under the name of Orpheus.

⁴ descen-
dentes ex.

2. Regarding the former [of these causes] he writes thus^a; "And in the first place it seems to be probable, that after the death of the Apostles, as Hegesippus informs us, in Eusebius, Eccles. Hist. iv. 22, some Christians, or rather false Christs, false prophets, and false apostles, descended from⁴ those

^a Iren. p. 14.

seven heresies among the Christian people^b, which the said Hegesippus enumerates in the same passage, and of which he makes the prime leader and promoter to be Simon Magus the Samaritan; (and so not shrinking from uniting the true God with false deities¹ and idols in his own Samaritan worship;) ¹ *deastris*. and, by the invention of most perverse opinions (mark, these are the very words of Hegesippus) against God and Christ, first of all divided the unity of the Church, and moreover (as will soon appear from the doctrine of Simon Magus) corrupted the sound doctrine respecting God and Christ, by devising a new generation of Christ, and introducing a new Christ. For with respect to Simon Magus, all writers of Ecclesiastical history, without exception, testify that he was the first opposer of Christ²; that is, that he [first] denied ² *Christomachum*. Jesus to be the Christ and Redeemer, or such an one as died for sins; and on the contrary asserted that he himself alone was both the Son who appeared among the Jews, and the Father who descended in Samaria, and the Holy Ghost who came among the Gentiles; that he came down transfigured, and [266] appeared among men as a man, though he was not a man, and was supposed to have suffered in Judea, though he did not suffer; that he was the infinite power; and that Selene was the first conception of his mind, (for he designated the second, *Voice* and mental comprehension, and the third *Reason* or thought,) and the Mother of all, through whom in the beginning he conceived in his mind the creating of angels and archangels. For he said, that this conception springing forth from him, knowing what its Father wills, descended into the lower regions, and generated the angels and powers by whom the world was made." The author adds, "Justin was deceived by these wild notions of the Simonians."

3. But this conjecture of his is far removed from all probability. For in the first place, what could Christ have had in common with Belial, light with darkness, the fathers and doctors of the Church with the most notorious heretics? For it is certain that all the bishops and doctors of the Church who succeeded the Apostles, (and so all Christians who adhered to them,) always detested the Simonian heresy

^b He ought to have said, "among the Jewish people." See the note of Valesius, on Eusebius iv. pp. 79, 80. [p. 183.]

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with their whole souls, so that they would rather have fetched fire from hell, than any doctrine from the forge of Simon Magus. This is abundantly attested by their writings which are extant at the present day. But that Justin especially was most pure from all taint of this heresy, is manifest, (if it were not plain from other considerations,) from the fact, that in his Dialogue with Trypho^c, after making mention of the Gnostics, under the title, "so-called Christians," λεγομένων Χριστιανῶν, who arrogated to themselves the liberty of eating things offered to idols, he concludes that herein that prophecy of Christ was fulfilled, in which he foretold that false Christs and false apostles should arise, "who would deceive many of the faithful" (πολλοὺς τῶν πιστῶν πλανήσοντας). He also adds respecting them, "With none of whom do we hold communion, knowing them to be atheists and impious men" (ὧν οὐδενὶ κοινωνοῦμεν, οἱ γνωρίζοντες ἀθέους καὶ ἀσεβεῖς). In another place in the same Dialogue he says, that Christ foreknew what would happen after His resurrection and ascension, namely, that many false prophets and false Christs would come in His name ([i. e.] under the mask of a Christian profession); "which," says he^d, "is actually the case. For many have falsely coined and taught in His name, atheistical and blasphemous and unrighteous [doctrines]; and things which have been put into their minds by the impure spirit, the devil, they have taught and continue to teach until now^e."

^c P. 253. [§ 35. p. 132.]

^d Ὅπερ καὶ ἐστὶ πολλοὶ γὰρ ἄθεα, καὶ βλάσφημα, καὶ ἄδικα ἐν ὁνόματι αὐτοῦ παραχαράσσοντες ἐδίδαξαν, καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀκαθάρτου πνεύματος διαβόλου ἐμβαλλόμενα ταῖς διανοαῖς αὐτῶν ἐδίδαξαν καὶ διδάσκουσι μέχρι νῦν. —

^e P. 308. [§ 82. p. 179.]

Nay, in the same Dialogue he not only mentions, in p. 307, [p. 178.] the seven heresies of the Jews alluded to by Zwicker, but also, in p. 349, [§ 120. pp. 213, 214.] expressly rejects Simon Magus as an heresiarch and false-Christian, in these words; "For I had no respect for one of my own nation, that is of the Samaritans, when, addressing Cæsar in writing, I said that they are deceived through reliance on the wizard of their own nation, Simon, whom they allege to be God, above

all rule, and authority, and power." (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους τοῦ ἐμοῦ, λέγω δὲ τῶν Σαμαρείων, τινὸς φροντίδα ποιούμενος, ἐγγράφως Καίσαρι προσομιλῶν, εἶπον, πλανᾶσθαι αὐτοὺς πειθομένους τῷ ἐν τῷ γένει αὐτῶν μάγῳ Σίμωνι, ὃν Θεὸν ὑπεράνω πάσης ἀρχῆς, καὶ ἐξουσίας, καὶ δυνάμεως εἶναι λέγουσι.) Justin, no doubt, had in view partly the passage in the Apology which our reverend author has quoted, and partly another, which occurs in the Apology, commonly called the First, p. 52 of the Paris edition, or 56 of the recent Oxford edition, [Apol. ii. 15. p. 98.] which is to this effect; "I also despised the impious and deceptive teaching of Simon, one of my own nation" (καὶ τὸν ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ἔθνει ἀσεβοῦς καὶ πλάνου Σιμωνιανοῦ διδάγματος κατεφρόνησα.) Moreover, that

Lastly, in his Second Apology^f, he not only enumerates Simon and other heretics, who proceeded from his school, by name, but brands and execrates them as the pest of Christendom¹. But, *O tempora! O mores!* Who could have ever thought that the time would come when Justin, the most distinguished doctor of the Church, who not only wrote most learned works against all heresies, but actually sealed with his own blood the true apostolic faith, should have been brought by any one into suspicion of having been misled by the foulest heretics, in a primary doctrine of Christianity?

CHAP. II.
§ 3, 4.

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¹ Christianism.

4. But, secondly, it is so far from true that the doctors of the Church took their opinion concerning the divine generation of the Son from the fictions of the Simonians, that it is, on the contrary, manifest, that the heretics framed these fictions of theirs (as nearly every error is an aping of some truth) from the doctrine of the Church, transferring it into a form of their own². The case is clear; for whence, I ask, was that blasphemous assertion of Simon's, that he alone was both the Son who appeared among the Jews, and the Father who descended in Samaria, and the Holy Ghost who came among the Gentiles;—whence, I repeat, was this borrowed, but from the received doctrine of the Church respecting the Holy Trinity, that is, respecting God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost? Whence the impious dogma of the same Simon, that Jesus appeared among men as a man, though He was not a man, and was supposed to have suffered in Judea, though He did not suffer,—if it be not a distortion of the apostolic doctrine of Christ God and Man³? For certainly the impostor would have in vain persuaded the Christians that Jesus was not a true man, if the Apostles had taught that He was a mere man. Lastly, with respect to that exposition of Cerinthus, (to use Zwicker's expression,) who taught that Christ the Son of God descended on Jesus at

² εἰς ἴδιον
χαρακτήρα.

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³ Θεανθρώ-
πῳ.

the Simonian, together with the heresies that succeeded it, was professedly opposed by Justin, and refuted in a short treatise which he wrote, he himself intimates in what is commonly called his Second Apology, when, after mentioning by name Simon, Menander, and Marcion, he at last adds, in p. 54

of my edition, (but p. 70 of the Paris, [Apol. i. 26, p. 60,]) "There is, also, a treatise composed by me against all the heresies which have arisen." (ἐστὶ δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ σύνταγμα κατὰ πασῶν τῶν γεγενημένων αἵρέσεων συντεταγμένον.)

—GRABE.

^f Pp. 69 and 70. [Apol. i. 26. p. 59.]

His baptism, from the principality which is above all things, and performed mighty works, and at the approach of the passion flew back again from Jesus to the Father into heaven; whence, I ask, could this exposition of Cerinthus have originated, except in that distinction of the divine from the human nature in Christ, which was handed down by the Apostles? Indeed, both these conceits, viz. that of Simon, concerning the imaginary body of Christ, and that of Cerinthus, concerning the separation of the Son of God from the man Jesus, seem to have been acceptable to not a few, from the very cause that the august mystery of Christ, God and Man, (that is to say, of the union of the divine and human natures in the one person of Christ,) which had been handed down by the Apostles, seemed to them (as it does also to the heretics of this day) absurd, and contrary to sound reason. For on this account they thought it necessary, either to take away one nature altogether, or at any rate to separate the one of them from the other. Let the reader attentively weigh this, and (to use the words of Zwicker) "if his mind be not perverted," he will be of my opinion.

- 11 5. Moreover, that the Church's doctrine of God the Father and the Son did not proceed from the school of Simon, but, on the contrary, that Simon bent the apostolic doctrine to his own impious dogmas, is sufficiently intimated by the very words of Hegesippus, which Zwicker desired his reader to mark well; namely, that the heretics "invented the most perverse doctrines against God and Christ." He does not say (observe) *concerning* God and Christ, but *against* God and Christ. The truth is, this Magus, by a kind of unheard-
- [270] of blasphemy, applied to himself and his prostitute Helena, and other Æons invented by him, what the apostolic doctrine taught concerning the Father and the Son. For, according to the statement of Irenæus, i. 20^g, he used to say, against God the Father, "that he was the highest power, that is, the Father who is over all things, and permitted himself to be called by whatever name men call Him" (the Eternal Father). And then, against Christ, he used to allege, that Helena, his first *ἔννοια*; or idea, generated the angels and powers, by

^g Esse [docuit . . . autem] se sublimissimam virtutem, hoc est, eum qui sit super omnia Pater, et sustinere

vocari se quodcunque eum vocant homines.—[c. 23. p. 99.]

which he said this world was made; "that it was by his grace men were saved," &c.

6. I cannot, however, help wondering on what principle Hegesippus is here adduced as a witness by the author of the *Irenicum*; for none of the ancient writers shews more evidently than Hegesippus, how futile and utterly untrue this conjecture of his is. Thus, in the book and chapter of Eusebius cited before, he expressly testifies that in his own time the apostolic preaching continued whole and unimpaired among the rulers of the Church. For after mentioning what Churches he had visited, and how many bishops he had gone to, especially those of the Church of Rome, the most eminent patriarchate, he subjoins these words ^h; "But in each succession [of bishops] and in each city, it is as the law proclaims, and the prophets, and the Lord." Now at what period did Hegesippus live? without doubt he was contemporary with Irenæus, inasmuch as in the same place in Eusebius he makes express mention of Pope Eleutherus, (under whose pontificate it is clear that Irenæus flourished,) as succeeding Soter in the episcopal seat; so that Jerome was clearly in error when he threw back Hegesippus to the age of the emperor Adrian, misled, I doubt not, by Eusebius himself, who, in his Eccles. Hist. iv. 8, does the same; though afterwards (in chap. 21 of the same book), as though correcting that chronological mistake, he places Hegesippus in the reign of Marcus Antoninus. What a pretty finish has Zwicker now made of his case out of Hegesippus! He asserts, that the doctors of the Church, and Justin in particular, being misled by the ravings of the Simonians, altered the apostolic doctrine; [whereas] Hegesippus himself expressly attests, that the apostolic preaching was preserved unimpaired by the doctors in the several Churches down to his own times, that is to say, the times of Irenæus, who flourished thirty years, be it more or less, after Justin. Surely the author of the *Irenicum* would not have ventured to appeal to Hegesippus, if he had thoroughly known his man; without doubt his own opinion hastily formed about that ancient writer misled him. But this shall be clearly shewn in the following chapter.

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^h ἐν ἐκάστη δὲ διαδοχῇ καὶ ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει οὕτως ἔχει, ὡς ὁ νόμος κηρύττει, καὶ οἱ προφῆται, καὶ ὁ Κύριος.—

[Euseb. H. E. iv. 22.]

¹ See the note of Valesius on the passage.

CONCERNING HEGESIPPUS, AND HIS OPINION RESPECTING THE PERSON OF
JESUS CHRIST.

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¹ ratiun-
culis.

1. THE author of the *Irenicum* every where speaks of Hegesippus as a man of like sentiments with himself, that is, an Ebionite,—one of that class of persons, who, while they acknowledged that Christ was conceived of a Virgin by the Holy Ghost, yet did not at all allow His preexistence, as the Word of God, before the worlds. And he has been followed by all the Socinians of this day here in England, who claim this very ancient and celebrated writer as their own; and on him as their foundation raise up a superstructure of wonderful conclusions, such as would, if they were true, wholly overthrow the Apostolic tradition, which we maintain, of the true divinity of our Saviour Christ. Of these, the author of the treatise entitled, “The Judgment of the Fathers,” especially, maintained strenuously^a, that Hegesippus was altogether an Ebionite, and endeavoured to establish this opinion by some shallow¹ reasons, which we here propose to examine.

2. Argument 1. “In the first place,” he says, “Hegesippus was himself a Jewish Christian, as Eusebius, Eccles. Hist. iv. 22, witnesses; but all Jewish Christians, saith Origen, were Ebionites, that is, denied the divinity of Christ.” I answer; If by a Jewish Christian the sophist means a Christian who mixed up the observance of the ceremonial law of Moses with belief in Christ; it is utterly false that Eusebius has any where stated, that Hegesippus was a Jewish Christian of this class. All he says in the passage referred to is, that from the writings of Hegesippus it may be gathered, “that he was a believer from among the Hebrews” (ἐξ Ἑβραίων ἐαυτὸν πεπιστευκέναι). Nay, that Hegesippus was certainly not a

^a Pages 41, 42.

Jewish Christian of the kind alleged, we know for certain from Hegesippus himself; who in Eusebius (Eccles. Hist. iv. 22) relates, that on his way to Rome he visited many Churches of Christians of the Gentiles, and held communion with them; and after his arrival at Rome, continued a long time in communion with that illustrious Church. Accordingly, Eusebius (Eccles. Hist. iv. 21) expressly says, that Hegesippus "flourished in the Church," (*ἡκμαζεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας*), in the same Catholic Church, that is, in which at the same time Irenæus and other men who were undoubtedly Catholic flourished, with whom he is joined in that same passage. But the Christians of the Jews, who together with belief in Christ retained the observance of the ceremonial law, neither could, nor indeed wished to, live in communion with any Church of the Gentiles. Moreover, it is not true that the Jews who persevered in observing the law of Moses after receiving the faith of Christ, were all Ebionites, that is, denied the divinity of Christ: nor does Origen anywhere say this. See what we have written in the Judgment of the Catholic Church, ii. 18. [p. 53.]

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3. Argument 2. Our Ebionite goes on with his arguments; "Secondly," says he, "the same Eusebius (ibid.) says, that Hegesippus made use of St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel, which was used only by the Ebionites and Unitarian Christians." I answer; Eusebius does indeed say, that Hegesippus in his writings adduced some things out of the Gospel of the Hebrews; but he by no means says, that he used that Gospel as the Ebionites used it; that is, regarded it as a canonical book. Now, if quoting some passages from the Gospel according to the Hebrews be a sure mark of an Ebionite, then must very many writers be regarded as Ebionites, whom yet we certainly know to have been Catholics, and to have had a thorough abhorrence of the heresy of Ebion. For in that case, even Jerome, the strenuous advocate of the Consubstantiality of the Son of God, was himself an Ebionite, for he repeatedly cites that Gospel, and even translated it into the Greek and the Latin languages, as he tells us himself^b. Hence Julian the Pelagian, in book iv., charges Jerome with using, in his Dialogue against the Pelagians, the testimony

^b Cat. Script. Eccl. on James, the Lord's brother.

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¹ dormi-
tantem.

² 'appear-
ed.' BULL.
³ τοὺς περὶ
Πέτρον.

of a fifth Gospel, which he had himself translated into Latin. In that case, Origen also was an Ebionite, notwithstanding that (against Celsus, v. p. 272^c), he rejected the Ebionites of both kinds as heretics and altogether alien from the Church of Christ; for Jerome expressly writes^d, that Origen often used the Gospel according to the Hebrews. Moreover Papias, who, as we are told by Irenæus^e, was the disciple of John and companion of Polycarp, gave in his writings a more lengthened history of the conversations between our Saviour and the woman taken in adultery, which was found only in the Gospel according to the Hebrews, as Eusebius states in Eccles. Hist. iii. 39, near the end^f. Now all the ancient Catholic writers who have mentioned him testify, that Papias, although a man of mean ability, and mistaken¹ in some things, was yet Catholic, and firmly maintained the rule of faith. Lastly, to mention no others, the blessed Ignatius, the distinguished defender of the great mystery of godliness respecting God incarnate, against the heretics of his own time, has, in his Epistle to the Church of Smyrna, some things of which Eusebius confesses that he does not know from what source they are derived; Eccles. Hist. iii. 36. Eusebius says^g; "In his Epistle to the Church of Smyrna, speaking of our Saviour, he quotes some words of His, but whence he took them I know not. His words are, 'But I know and believe that even after His resurrection, He was² in the flesh, and when He came to Peter and those who were with him³, He said unto them, Take hold of Me, handle Me, and see that I am not a spirit without a body; and immediately they touched Him and believed.'" Now this narrative about Christ is taken from the Gospel according to the Hebrews; a fact, which, though unknown to Eusebius, Jerome has informed

^c [§ 61. pp. 624, 625.]

^d See two passages of Origen, in which he cited the Gospel according to the Hebrews, as well as another of Clement of Alexandria, in my *Spicilegium Patrum*, sæc. I. p. 26. seq.—GRABE. [See Origen, de Orat. 14. vol. i. p. 219, &c.; c. Cels. vii. 41. pp. 726, 727; also Clem. Alex. Strom. i. 24. p. 416.]

^e Lib. v. c. 33.

^f [Eusebius only says, διέτίθεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλην ἱστορίαν περὶ γυναικὸς, ἐπὶ πολλαῖς ἀμαρτίαις διαβληθείσης ἐπὶ τοῦ

κυρίου, ἣν τὸ κατ' Ἑβραίων εὐαγγέλιον περιέχει. loc. cit.]

^g [Eusebius' words are:—ὁ δ' αὐτὸς Σμυρναῖος γράφων οὐκ οἶδ' ὅθεν ῥητοῖς συγκέχρηται, τοιαῦτά τινα περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διεξιών· ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐν σαρκὶ αὐτὸν οἶδα καὶ πιστεύω ὄντα. καὶ ὅτε πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Πέτρον ἐλήλυθεν, ἔφη αὐτοῖς· λάβετε, ψηλαφήσατέ με· καὶ ἴδετε, ὅτι οὐκ εἰμι δαιμόνιον ἀσώματον· καὶ εἰθὺς αὐτοὶ ἥψαντο καὶ ἐπίστευσαν. Bishop Bull gives only a Latin version.]

us of in his treatise on Ecclesiastical Writers, [in the section] on Ignatius.

CHAP. III.
§ 3, 4.

4. Argument 3. His third argument is thus summarily stated by the author; "In short, I say, Hegesippus (in Euseb. *ibid.*) giving a catalogue of the heresies of the Jews and Gentiles, does not account either the Cerinthians or Ebionites among the heretics; which he certainly would have done, if he himself had held the preexistence and divinity of our Saviour." To this I reply; Who can patiently endure a man, when he thus trifles in a matter so serious and of such moment? For in the first place, does he seriously suppose that Hegesippus, in the passage referred to, meant to give a complete catalogue of all the heretics who disturbed the Church in his own age, and whom he himself regarded as heretics? If so, he knew nothing at all of the work on Heresies¹ by Irenæus, the contemporary of Hegesippus. Secondly, Does he seriously believe that Hegesippus did not reckon the Cerinthians as heretics? In that case, at any rate, he knows as little about the opinions of Cerinthus as the most ignorant, and he who has ventured to write a book about the Judgment of the Fathers, was quite a stranger to the writings of the early fathers. Cerinthus, besides the error which he held in common with Ebion, of Christ's being a mere man, taught other absurd and blasphemous tenets. For he affirmed, as we said before, that this visible world was not created by the Supreme God, but by inferior powers or angels, who knew not that God; that the Angel, who gave the law by Moses to the children of Israel, was a bad angel, &c. Indeed Epiphanius, On Heresies, xxviii., informs us that Cerinthus maintained nearly all the horrible errors of Carpocrates, and only differed from that monster in that he observed the Mosaic ceremonies, and that not from his heart, but only for his own convenience, to ingratiate himself with the Jews, and escape the persecutions raised by them. See what we have said in our Defence of the Nicene Creed, iii. 1. 7. [p. 379.] But what shall we say? Did not Hegesippus hold this monster among men to be a heretic? Lastly, by this very argument of our sophist it might equally be proved that Justin Martyr also was an Ebionite or Unitarian, that is, did not acknowledge the preexistence and divinity of our Saviour.

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¹ hæresio-
logiam.

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For in his disputation against Trypho Justin enumerates just as many heresies of the Jews as Hegesippus does, namely, seven in all, though he calls them by different names. His words are the following ^h; “Just as no one, if he rightly considers the subject, would say that the Sadducees, or the similar heresies of the Genistæ and Meristæ, the Galileans, and Hellenians, and the Pharisees, [and] the Baptists, were Jews.” Here the Cerinthians and the Ebionites are omitted. In another passage ⁱ of the same Dialogue, he enumerates by name some heresies which had arisen among Christians, the Marcionites, the Valentinians, the Basilians, and the Saturnilians. But neither here is there any mention of the Cerinthians or Ebionites. From this a person might argue thus: Justin when enumerating the heretics, both Jewish and Christian, does not enumerate either the Cerinthians or Ebionites among them; but he would undoubtedly have done so, if he had himself believed our Saviour’s preexistence and divinity. Yet who is there that does not know that Justin not only himself believed the divinity of Christ, but also vehemently and strenuously defended that doctrine against both Jews and Judaizing Christians? You will say that Justin, after the Christian heretics whom he names, adds, “and others bearing different names” (*καὶ ἄλλοι ἄλλῳ ὀνόματι*). I grant it; but then does not Hegesippus in reality do the same? Surely he does. For after the Christian heretics whom he enumerates by name he immediately subjoins ^k; “From these [arose] false Christs, false prophets, false apostles, who divided the unity of the Church by their pernicious words against God and against His Christ.” In these words all the heretics who arose after, and out of, those whom he had previously mentioned, are certainly comprehended.

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5. Argument 4. The last argument of our sophist is as follows; “Valesius,” he says, “owns that the ecclesiastical history of Hegesippus was lost by the ancients, because it was observed to agree with the Unitarians.” My answer to

^h ὥσπερ οὐδὲ Ἰουδαίους, ἄν τις ὁρθῶς ἐξετάσῃ, ὁμολογήσειεν εἶναι τοὺς Σαδδουκαίους, ἢ τὰς ὁμοίας αἵρέσεις Γενιστῶν καὶ Μεριστῶν, καὶ Γαλιλαίων, καὶ Ἑλληνιανῶν, καὶ Φαρισαίων, (καὶ) Βαπτιστῶν.] — Dialogue with Trypho, p. 307. [§ 80. pp. 132, 133.]

ⁱ P. 253. [§ 35. pp. 132, 133.]

^k ἀπὸ τούτων ψευδόχριστοι, ψευδοπροφήται, ψευδαπόστολοι: οἵτινες ἐμέρισαν τὴν ἑνωσιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας φθοριμαίοις λόγοις κατὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ. — [Euseb. H. E. loc. cit.]

this is; It is plainly untrue that Valesius has anywhere allowed this; he only says in general that the writings of Hegesippus and other ancient authors fell into neglect, and were consequently lost, because of the errors with which they abounded. His words are¹; "Owing, however, to the errors with which they" (the books of Clement's *ὑποτυπώσεις*) "abounded, they were neglected, and ultimately lost. Nor, in my opinion, is it from any other cause that the works of Papias and Hegesippus, and other early writers, have perished." With respect, however, to Hegesippus, I know not what errors Valesius suspected him to have fallen into; certainly the ancient Catholic writers who had read the works of Hegesippus, (and who ought to be trusted in preference to Valesius,) recommended their contents as orthodox, useful, and worth reading, as we shall presently see. And thus far have we examined the shallow reasonings of the sophist. But against these arguments of his, of less weight, certainly, than the lightest things¹, we set the testimonies of the ancients¹ farfari
foliis, respecting Hegesippus, who classed him among Catholics, and even among the very highest ornaments of the primitive Catholic Church.

6. First of all, Eusebius, who made use of the papers² of² *serinia*
Hegesippus, and transcribed much out of his Commentaries *compila-*
into his own history, everywhere makes honourable mention *vit.* of him, in particular extolling throughout with wonderful [278] praise his orthodoxy and his truly apostolic doctrine. If, however, Hegesippus had been an Ebionite, Eusebius certainly never would have done this, since, as we have elsewhere shewn^x, he accounted the Ebionites impious heretics, even those of them, who, though they acknowledged that Christ was conceived of the Virgin by the Holy Ghost, denied His preexistence before the world as "God the Word and Wisdom" (*Θεὸν Λόγον καὶ Σοφίαν*). Nay more, he commends³ Hegesippus as a most courageous champion of the³ *quid,*
Catholic faith against the heretics of his time! An admirable *quod col-*
assailant of heretics, forsooth, when he was himself a heretic! *laudet.*
Hear what Eusebius himself says, in Eccles. Hist. book iv. chap. 7, at the end, compared with the beginning of the

¹ Annot. in Euseb. v, 11. [p. 223.]^m See the Judgment of the Catholic Church, ii. 11. [p. 89.]

following chapterⁿ; “But nevertheless in these times the truth again put forth many defenders, who contended against the impious heresies, not by oral refutations only, but also by written demonstrations. Amongst these Hegesippus was distinguished, whose words we have already very often used, exhibiting from his tradition some of the events of the apostolic times. This author compiled in five books the true tradition of the apostolic preaching, in a very simple style of writing.” Parallel to this is the statement contained in chap. 21 of the same book^o; “At that period there flourished in the Church Hegesippus, whom we know from what has been said before; and Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth; and Pinytus, another of the Bishops of Crete; and besides these, Philip, and Apollinarius, and Melito, [and Musanus, and Modestus,] and lastly Irenæus; the orthodoxy of whose apostolical tradition, out of a sound faith, has come down even to our times in writing.” And at the beginning of the next chapter he adds these words again, concerning Hegesippus^p; “Hegesippus then in the five books of his Commentaries, which have come down to us, has left us the fullest record of his own belief.”

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7. What has our adversary now to oppose to these most clear testimonies of Eusebius concerning Hegesippus? Hear; after producing the arguments by which he wished to prove that Hegesippus was a Unitarian, he immediately adds the following; “If it be said, But did not Eusebius know this,” (namely, that Hegesippus was a Unitarian,) “and yet he always speaks respectfully of Hegesippus? I answer, Without doubt he knew it; but durst not take notice of it; it was not for Eusebius to find fault with an apostolic father. He could

ⁿ [ὅμως δ' οὖν κατὰ τοὺς δηλουμένους ἀδύσιν παρήγεν εἰς μέσον ἡ ἀλήθεια πλείονος αὐτῆς ὑπερμάχους, οὐ δι' ἀγράφων αὐτὸ μόνον ἐλέγχων, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' ἐγγραφῶν ἀποδείξων κατὰ τῶν ἀθέων αἱρέσεων στρατευομένων. ἐν τοῖτοις ἐγγωρίζετο Ἡγήσιππος, οὗ πλείσταίς ἤδη πρότερον κεκρήμεθα φωναῖς, ὡς ἂν ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ παραδόσεως τινὰ τῶν κατὰ τοὺς ἀποστόλους παρατιθέμενοι. ἐν πέντε δὲ οὖν συγγράμμασιν οὗτος τὴν ἀπλανῆ παράδοσιν τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ κηρύγματος ἀπλουστάτῃ συντάξει γραφῆς ὑπομνηματισάμενος.—Euseb. Eccles. Hist. iv. 7.]

^o [ἡκμαζον δὲ ἐν τοῖτοις ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας Ἡγήσιππος τε ὃν ἴσμεν ἐκ τῶν προτέρων, καὶ Διονύσιος Κορινθίων ἐπίσκοπος, Πινύτης τε ἄλλος τῶν ἐπὶ Κρήτης ἐπίσκοπος, Φίλιππος τε ἐπὶ τοῖτοις καὶ Ἀπολλινάριος καὶ Μελίτων, Μουσάνος τε καὶ Μοδέστιος, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν Εἰρηναῖος ὧν καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς τῆς ἀποστολικῆς παραδόσεως ἡ τῆς ὑγιούς πίστεως ἐγγραφὸς κατήλθεν ὀρθοδόξα.—Ibid. iv. 21.]

^p [ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἡγήσιππος ἐν πέντε τοῖς εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλθοῦσιν ὑπομνήμασι τῆς ἰδίας γνώμης πληρεστάτην μνήμην καταλείπειν.—Ibid. iv. 22.]

dissemble his knowledge of what the Unitarians (and particularly his antagonist Marcellus,) would not fail to make advantage." Now what man of sound mind on hearing this answer is not at once amazed? Surely, if Hegesippus had been an Ebionite, and Eusebius was aware of it, the latter not only did wrong in dissembling what he knew to be true, but even told a direct lie. For he not only does not say that Hegesippus was an Ebionite, but expressly declares the contrary, namely, that he was altogether Catholic, and had in his writings stated the apostolic tradition and doctrine purely and sincerely. Nay, he even was shameless in his falsehood. For the Commentaries of Hegesippus were not read by Eusebius alone, but were constantly in the hands¹ of many readers, at least of the learned; for both on account of the venerable antiquity of their author, as well as the valuable matter of which they treated, (their subject being the events of the apostolic age, and of the period next after the apostolic,) these Commentaries were very widely known, and attracted the study of all lovers of antiquity. So that on such a point as this, it was not open to Eusebius to lie safely and securely, since he would so easily have been convicted of manifest falsehood, and have exposed himself, on the detection of his fraud, to the hatred of all lovers of truth. Then again, what he says is most ridiculous, about Eusebius's not daring to charge Hegesippus with error, because he was an "apostolic father." For if Hegesippus was really an Ebionite, he could not have been accounted an apostolic father by the Catholic Church, to which especially it concerned Eusebius to approve himself. In the last place, by this [alleged] falsehood of his, Eusebius would have made himself disliked by both Catholics and heretics: he would have offended the Catholics, by honouring a heretic with such praises; and would have displeased the heretics, by depriving them of so great a patron of their heresy, and assigning him to the Catholic party. It is with shame and vexation that I dwell upon these so palpable follies of the sophist. Let us therefore proceed to other points.

8. Not only Eusebius, but other ancient Catholic writers also, have borne witness to the orthodoxy of Hegesippus. Thus Jerome not merely praises him for the great holiness of his life, but likewise commends his writings (which he had

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¹ manibus
terebantur.

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¹ omnes
ecclesiasti-
corum ac-
tum tex-
ens histo-
rias.

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² sectaba-
tur.

³ ἀρνησι-
θέω.

himself also read,) as containing much that is useful to his readers. For in his catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, he speaks thus of Hegesippus¹; "Hegesippus, who lived near the times of the Apostles, and put together all the accounts of what took place in the Church¹, from our Lord's Passion to his own age, collecting from every quarter much that tended to the benefit of his readers, composed five books in a simple style; as if he would express the style of speaking of those whose life he was tracing²." If, indeed, Jerome had discovered in the writings of Hegesippus any tares of heresy mingled with the good wheat of sound doctrine, he would, without doubt, have reminded his reader of them, in order that he might be on his guard against them. But if he had found Hegesippus to have been an Ebionite, he would not have let him slip out of his hands with impunity, and without any mark of censure, much less have honoured him with so high an eulogium; for no one was a greater enemy to that "God-denying³" heresy than Jerome. By Gobarus also, in Photius (Cod. 232), Hegesippus is designated as "an ancient and apostolic man," (ἀρχαῖός τε ἀνὴρ καὶ ἀποστολικός);—ancient, in respect of the time when he lived; apostolic, from the sanctity and purity of his life and doctrine.

9. Let us now at last hear Hegesippus speak for himself. He tells us, (in Eusebius, Eccles. Hist. iv. 22, the very chapter from which the sophist would fain have proved Hegesippus to have been an Ebionite,) that^r "when on his way to Rome, he conversed with very many bishops, and heard one and the same doctrine from them all." He then adds, "And the Church of Corinth continued in the right doctrine down to Primus who was [then] bishop at Corinth, with whom I had intercourse when on my voyage to Rome, and spent several days with the Corinthians, during which we were mutually refreshed by right doctrine. And when I was in Rome I made

¹ Hegesippus vicinus apostolicorum temporum, et omnes a passione Domini usque ad suam ætatem ecclesiasticorum actuum texens historias, multaque ad utilitatem legentium pertinentia hinc inde congregans, quinque libros composuit sermone simplici; ut quorum vitam sectabatur, dicendi quoque exprimeret characterem.—[c. 22. vol. ii. p. 849.]

^r [ὡς πλείστοις ἐπισκόποις συμμίξειεν, ἀποδημίαν στείλαμενος μέχρι 'Ρώμης, καὶ ὡς ὅτι τὴν αὐτὴν παρὰ πάντων παρέληφε διδασκαλίαν. . . . καὶ ἐπέμενεν ἡ ἐκκλησία ἡ Κορινθίων ἐν τῷ ὁρθῷ λόγῳ μέχρι Πρίμου ἐπισκοποῦντος ἐν Κορίνθῳ οἷς συνέμιξα πλέον εἰς 'Ρώμην, καὶ συνδιέτριψα τοῖς Κορινθίοις ἡμέρας ἱκανὰς, ἐν αἷς συνανέπαρμεν τῷ ὁρθῷ λόγῳ. γενόμενος δὲ ἐν 'Ρώμῃ διαδοχὴν ἐποιήσαμην

out the succession as far as Anicetus^s, to whom Eleutherus was deacon." He afterwards subjoins the following words; "And in each succession [of bishops], and in each city, it is so as the law taught, and the prophets, and our Lord Himself." Hegesippus therefore approved the doctrine of the Catholic Church of his own time as true, and entirely consonant to the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and also to primitive and apostolic tradition. Now, what the doctrine of the Catholic Church in the age of Hegesippus was, you may learn with certainty from Irenæus, his contemporary. Out of many passages of this writer I will here adduce but two. In book i. chap. 19^t, he thus describes the rule of truth in the Catholic Church, as it was everywhere received in his own day; "But since we hold 'the rule of truth,' *i. e.* that there is one God Almighty, who created and set in order¹ all¹ aptavit. things through His Word, and out of that which was not made, all things to exist, as the Scripture saith, 'For by the Word of the Lord were the heavens made², and all the host² firmati. of them by the breath [Spirit] of His mouth³;' and again, 'All things were made by Him, and without Him was not any-thing made⁴.' Now from all things there is nothing excepted;⁴ [John i. 3.] but through Him did the Father make all things, whether visible or invisible; whether objects of sense or objects of understanding; whether things temporal with reference to some dispensation⁵, or things everlasting and eternal⁶; [by⁵ propter Him,] not by angels, nor by any powers cut off from His quendam disposi- tionem. mind, (for the God of all stands in need of nothing,) but⁶ seonia. through His Word and Spirit, making, and disposing, and governing, and giving being to all things." Now was it possible for any Ebionite to approve of this confession of faith? The other passage occurs in book iii. chap. 3, at the very beginning, compared with chap. 4 of the same book. At the commencement of the third chapter he thus writes, respecting the tradition of the Catholic Church^u; "The tradition therefore of the Apostles manifested in all the

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§ 8, 9.

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^s μέχρις Ἀνικήτου, οὗ διάκονος ἦν Ἐλεούθερος . . . ἐν ἑκάστη δὲ διαδοχῇ καὶ ἐν ἑκάστη πόλει οὕτως ἔχει ὡς ὁ νόμος κηρύττει καὶ οἱ προφῆται καὶ ὁ Κύριος.—Euseb. loc. cit.]

^u [Bull has "mansi ibi apud Anicetum," following Rufinus; so Valesius

would read διατριβήν for διαδοχήν.]

^t [c. 22. p. 98. See the Latin cited above, Judg. Cath. Church, chap. iv. § 5. p. 74. note ¹.]

^u Traditionem itaque apostolorum in toto mundo manifestatam in omni ecclesia adest respicere omnibus qui

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CHURCH.

¹ annume-
rare.

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² ab his
deliratur.

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³ figmen-
tum.

world may be seen in every Church by all who desire to behold the truth; and we are able to reckon up¹ those who were appointed by the Apostles to be bishops in the Churches, and their successors down to ourselves, who have neither taught, nor known, any such thing as these men madly imagine².” He is here speaking of a universal tradition, manifested throughout the whole world, and in every Church, (that is, in the language of Hegesippus, “in each succession of bishops and in each city;”) and so manifested as to be capable of being easily seen by all lovers of truth, and such as were not wilfully blind. What this universal and manifest tradition was, he thus clearly unfolds in the chapter immediately following^v; “But what if the Apostles even had not left the Scriptures to us, would it not have been our duty to follow the order of the tradition, which they delivered to those to whom they committed the Churches? To this appointment many nations of those barbarians, who believe in Christ, give their assent; having salvation written in their hearts by the Spirit without paper and ink, and carefully guarding the ancient tradition, believing in one God, the Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things which are therein, through Jesus Christ, the Son of God; who out of His most eminent love to His own creation³ endured the birth of the Virgin, Himself by Himself uniting man to God.”

10. From this it is as clear as can be, that Hegesippus was quite Catholic, and, with the Catholic Church of his time, believed in the Son of God, existing before all worlds, by whom all things were made, and who at the appointed time Himself became man for us men. Most idle, therefore, are all those conclusions which our Unitarians have drawn from the opposite supposition (that Hegesippus, I mean, was an Ebionite). Hear the author of the Judgment of the Fathers, [284] &c., as he thus argues from that hypothesis; “If Hegesippus (Unitarian Hegesippus),” says he^x, “was the author whom Eusebius followed in the account he gives of the first fifteen

vera velint videre; et habemus annu-
merare eos qui ab Apostolis instituti
sunt episcopi in ecclesiis, et succes-
sores eorum usque ad nos, qui nihil
tale docuerunt, neque cognoverunt,

quale ab his deliratur.—[§ 1. p. 175.]

^v [See the Latin cited above, Judg.
Cath. Church, chap. iv. § 7. p. 75.]
note ^m.]

^x pp. 42, 43.

bishops of Jerusalem, that they ‘professed the true knowledge of Christ,’ which will not be questioned by any that are conversant in Eusebius, &c., we have gained another very great point; namely this, that not only the Jewish Christians, but those of Rome, and all the great Churches to which Hegesippus had resorted to know their doctrine and discipline, were also Unitarians; that is, held (with Hegesippus) that the Lord Christ is a man only. For he saith (*apud Euseb.* iv. 22) that he travelled to Rome, where he lived under the popes Anicetus, Soter, and Eleutherus; but both here and in all other episcopates, they keep the doctrines taught by the law and the prophets, and by our Saviour; briefly, he owns that he found the Churches everywhere to be orthodox and uniform; of which, if he was a Unitarian, as (I think) I have proved, the meaning can be only this, that they believed, as the Jewish Christians do, the Lord Christ is a man, the prophet and messenger of God, on whom the Logos, or Divine Word, rested. This perfectly agrees with the account that the old Unitarians,” that is, the Artemonites, “(in Eusebius) give; namely, that they had kept the doctrine delivered by the Apostles, and which was professed everywhere, till the opposition made to it by the popes Victor and Zephyrin, who succeeded to Eleutherus, as he to Soter, and Soter to Anicetus, with which orthodox popes Hegesippus had conversed.” Now, these conclusions,¹ ¹ πορίσματα. which the sophist deduces from his own hypothesis, respecting the faith and sentiments of Hegesippus, are so absurd, and [285] so clearly repugnant to authentic² ecclesiastical history, that² ² certæ. if he had only had a single grain of common sense and candour in him, he must have certainly perceived that that hypothesis is untrue, as indeed it is most untrue.

11. Nevertheless, the insanity of this writer has also affected the author³ of a little work entitled, “The true and ancient Faith concerning the Divinity of Christ, asserted against Dr. George Bull’s Judgment of the Catholic Church,” &c. For in pp. 178, 179, 180 of this writer, you may read the following; “And here I must entreat my reader to

³ [The work is in Latin; the title is, “Vera et antiqua Fides de Divinitate Christi, aperta contra D. D. G.

Bulli Judicium Ecclesiæ,” &c. The author was Gilbert Clerke. See the Life of Bull, pp. 4—8.]

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observe, that all the works of those followers of the Apostles who did not plunge headlong into Platonism, have perished. Among others, which have either been accidentally lost or intentionally destroyed, we have to lament the treatises of the Christians of the circumcision, among whom Hegesippus, a man of high repute, had composed an ecclesiastical history of the earliest times; and the errors that are imputed to him by the Platonizing Christians are the cause of our having lost this most valuable history. Valesius coincides in opinion with me; for he makes the following observation on Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. v. 11; 'These books,' (meaning the Hypotyposes of Clement of Alexandria,) 'owing to the errors with which they abounded, were neglected, and at last lost. Nor, in my judgment, was it from any other cause that the works of Papias and Hegesippus, and other ancients, have been lost.' With these he also classes the history of Hegesippus; and it is not very difficult to conjecture the errors into which Hegesippus fell; for those Christians, *such as they are*¹, who in old times Platonized, or who do so now, call everything an error which does not agree with their own hypothesis concerning God the Word, begotten, not made. Hegesippus was by race a Jew, one of those whom the Gentile proselytes especially laboured to expose to envy, hatred, and injury, owing to their own error about the pre-existence. And there is no doubt, that the errors of which he was accused, he held in common with the Nazarene Christians; and also, that by 'the virgin Church,' of which he speaks in Eusebius, he understood that of the circumcision, which altogether abhorred Platonism; and that by 'the seduction of error,' which arose in the reigns of Trajan and Adrian, he pointed to² Plato's philosophy, which at that time was being introduced into the Church; a philosophy which was so framed as to adulterate shamefully the Christian religion, grossly changing, and by the change all but utterly destroying it. This, as we read, the Apostles themselves also had predicted; and it is so true and manifest [in itself], that even Valesius, I observe, has a note on the passage of Eusebius just now quoted², to the effect that that father had given too wide a sense to the

¹ quales
quales sint.

[286]

² indigita-
verit.

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words of Hegesippus, and that what Hegesippus had said only of the virgin state of the Church of Jerusalem, he had applied to the whole Catholic Church.

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“Now, this is a matter of great importance, and deserves especially to be observed; for by it Hegesippus designates the fatal epoch when Christian bishops, who had not long before been heathen philosophers, succeeded to the Nazarene bishops, and, consequently, when Platonism took the place of that pure and simple truth which the successors of James had preached. This happened in the very reign of Adrian, when all the Jews, together with the Christians of the circumcision, were driven out of Judea. Sulpitius Severus, ii. 45, not without reason, said, that ‘the Christian faith,’ that is, (according to his notion,) the Platonic faith, ‘gained no small advantage from that dispersion;’ because, indeed, at that time, when the primitive faith, which the Nazarenes had preserved whole and unimpaired, was not able to hinder the progress of Platonism, the fatal evil spread itself far and wide.” And a little after he says; “This is the very thing of which the followers of Artemon complain, in Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. v. 28, namely, ‘that all the ancients, and the Apostles themselves, both received and taught what they themselves at present profess; and indeed that the true preaching of the Gospel was carefully guarded down to the times of Victor, who was the thirteenth bishop of Rome after Peter; but that from the days of Zephyrinus, Victor’s successor, the truth was corrupted.’” Now there is this peculiarity in this author, that he very ignorantly, or at any rate unblushingly, abuses the authority of Sulpitius Severus for the establishing of his own dreams; “Sulpitius Severus,” he says, “book ii. 45, affirms, ‘that the Christian faith,’ *i. e.* (according to his notion,) the Platonic faith, ‘gained no small advantage from that dispersion,’” (namely of the Christians of the circumcision in the time of Adrian,) “because indeed at that time when the primitive faith, which the Nazarenes had preserved whole and unimpaired, was not able to stop the progress of Platonism, the fatal evil spread itself far and wide.” But Sulpitius, in the passage cited, expressly says, that the Christians of Jerusalem, who were of the circumcision, previous to their dispersion under Adrian, “believed that Christ was

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God." And no less expressly does he say that the advantage which the Christian faith gained from that dispersion consisted in this, that by that event, "the bondage of the law was taken away from the liberty of the faith and of the Church." About the irruption of Platonism into the Church, through this door being opened, he did not even dream.

[288] 12. No one, however, can possibly wonder at the folly of this writer, who has observed what paradoxes he has presumed to publish and defend in the face of the Christian world. For in pp. 152, 153 he thus writes; "When therefore the primitive Christians discoursed about Jesus Christ as far superior to a mere man, or as the pre-existing Word, who was in the beginning with God, they simply meant that Holy Spirit or divine Power, which created the world and formed the body of Jesus Christ, inhabited it, when formed, and used it, as it were, for a temple, from which henceforth publicly to deliver the oracles of God.

"This was their true and genuine opinion respecting the article now in dispute; which indeed afterwards began to undergo considerable change, because the disciples of these men, through their deep prejudices in favour of the Platonic Trinity, distinguished between the Word and the Spirit; and so by their idle Platonic subtlety assigned these synonymous expressions to [two] different things." He eagerly contends that this was the genuine opinion of Ignatius, Irenæus, and other most early fathers; and throughout his work affirms, that according to the Scriptures and the primitive fathers the chief excellence of our Saviour, by reason of which He is spoken of as God, by no means consists in His having existed before all worlds, and in all things having been made by Him, but only in this,—that He was conceived in a wonderful manner of the Virgin by the Holy Ghost, having had no existence before that conception. But any man who after reading the primitive fathers can make such an assertion, must have entirely lost all conscience, or at least all reason and judgment. For, 1, It is most certain that the primitive fathers, by the Word which existed before the creation of the world, and by whom the world was made, did not¹ mean any impersonal² power of God, but a "living and subsisting Word," which we usually call "a Person."

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¹ minime.

² ἀνυπόστα-
τον.

2. It is equally certain, that those primitive fathers held the Word to be a Person distinct from God the Father and the Holy Ghost. 3. Lastly, it is most evident that they did not by any means make the highest dignity and excellence of our Saviour's Person to consist in His wonderful conception of the blessed Virgin by the Holy Ghost; but, on the contrary, entirely referred His birth of the Virgin to His stupendous condescension¹, and to that dispensation², which out of His unbounded mercy and love towards the human race He endured to undergo. That this was the true and ancient faith of the Church is known by all that love truth and are even slightly acquainted with primitive antiquity. See what we have written in the Judgment of the Catholic Church, v. 5, near the end [p. 90], and also § 9 of the same chapter [p. 106].

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§ 11—18.

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¹ συγκατά-
βασιν.
² οἰκονο-
μίαν.

13. But to return from these triflers to the holy fathers, Hegesippus and Irenæus, who are certainly two most full witnesses of the primitive and apostolic tradition. As for Hegesippus, he lived near the apostolic times, and wrote a history of the Church from our Lord's Passion to his own age. In preparing this history he no doubt consulted the records, which were extant in great numbers in his day, of the apostolic age and that immediately succeeding. He was besides, as Jerome informs us, a follower of primitive piety, and a man of holy simplicity and remarkable integrity, and therefore an historian very worthy of credit. Now this Hegesippus testifies, that the doctrine which had been at first delivered by Christ and His Apostles, remained unimpaired and inviolate in all the Churches in his own time, (in which [time], however, it is clear that the doctrine of Christ, God and Man, was everywhere received throughout the Catholic Church.) The same statement is made by Irenæus, Hegesippus's contemporary, who, in the judgment of Tertullian, was "a most curious investigator of all doctrines;" and to whom, moreover, the providence of God granted this peculiar assistance for ascertaining the apostolic doctrine, that in his youth he had associated with the blessed Polycarp, the disciple of the Apostle John, and was thoroughly imbued with his doctrine, and always kept it firmly fixed in his memory, as he himself tells us in his Epistle to Florinus. He appeals to Polycarp

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as a witness for the ancient tradition above mentioned, “of believing in one God, the Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things which are therein, through Jesus Christ, the Son of God; who out of His most eminent love to His own creation endured the birth of the Virgin, Himself by Himself uniting man to God.” Nay, he appeals to all the Churches of Asia, and the bishops who succeeded Polycarp, as witnesses of the same tradition. For thus he speaks in the afore-cited book iii. 3^a; “And Polycarp too [is a witness], who not only was instructed by Apostles, and conversed with many of those who saw our Lord, but was also appointed by Apostles to be a bishop in the Church at Smyrna in Asia, whom we also saw in our early youth, (for he continued a very long time, and when very old departed out of this life by most glorious and noble martyrdom,) [Polycarp, I say, is a witness], having always taught these things, which also he had learned from the Apostles, which also the Church hands down, and which alone are true. All the Churches in Asia, and they who have succeeded Polycarp down to this time, attest these [291] things.” Surely, men have arrived at the highest pitch of shamelessness, when they do not blush to allege the gross falsehood of the Artemonites, heretics of a later age, in opposition to these most credible witnesses.

Let us now proceed in examining what remains of Zwicker’s

¹ commen-
tis. fictions ¹.

^a [The original Greek is as follows: καὶ Πολύκαρπος δὲ οὐ μόνον ὑπὸ ἀποστόλων μαθητευθεὶς καὶ συναναστραφεὶς πολλοῖς τοῖς τὸν Χριστὸν ἑωράκοσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ ἀποστόλων κατασταθεὶς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἐν τῇ ἐν Σμύρνῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἐπίσκοπος, ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἑωράκαμεν

ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμῶν ἡλικίᾳ· (ἐπιπολὺ γὰρ παρέμεινε, καὶ πανὶ γηραλέῳ, ἐνδόξως καὶ ἐπιφανέστατα μαρτυρήσας, ἐξῆλθε τοῦ βίου.) ταῦτα διδάξας αἱ, ἃ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔμαθεν, ἃ καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία παραδίδωσιν, ἃ καὶ μόνᾳ ἐστὶν ἀληθῆ. — § 4. p. 176.]

ON THE ORPHIC VERSES, AND (BY WAY OF DIGRESSION) ON THE SIBYLLINE ORACLES,
QUOTED IN OPPOSITION TO THE HEATHEN BY JUSTIN AND OTHER ANCIENT WRITERS.

1. LET us now, in the second place, examine Zwicker's conjecture about the Orphic verses, which is more absurd^{1 1} insulsiorem. certainly than any poetical fiction. Respecting these verses he writes thus^a; "These ravings, fictions, and extraordinary notions of Simon Magus, with the additional polishing² of² expolitione. Cerinthus, of which more will soon be said, certainly seem, if I am not greatly mistaken, to have been the first outlines and elements of the verses of Orpheus, (a heathen, and, according to Pausanias, a magician too,) which are quoted by Justin Martyr in his Exhortation to the Greeks, and which are to the following effect^b;—

'By the Father's Word I adjure thee, which He uttered first
When He established the whole universe by His own counsels.'

These verses some impostor, who was a disciple of Simon Magus, seems to have circulated first among the Christians under the name of Orpheus, as one to whom in very ancient times a great many writings of other authors were attributed, according to Suidas, on account of the celebrity of his name, as though they were his genuine works, that so they might acquire greater authority. These also Justin afterward made sacred in his own eyes and those of others, as having been derived by Orpheus from the doctrines of Moses." He adds [292] presently; "That Justin, relying upon these verses of Orpheus, together with others, put forth his view respecting the generation from the Father of Christ, as the Mind, Word, and

^a Iren. pp. 15, 16.

^b [Αὐτὸν ὀρκίζω σε πατὴρ, ἣν φθέγγατο πρῶτον,
Ἡνίκα κόσμον ἅπαντα ἐαῖς στηρίζατο βουλαῖς.]

Cohort. ad Gentes, c. 15. p. 19.]

Reason of the Father, (observe,) before the foundation of the world, in order that the world might be created by Him, and that He might come down to men, and at last also become man." The heretical writer rests upon these two supports, 1. That these verses were forged by the Simonians under the name of Orpheus; 2. That Justin, relying on these same verses, put forth his view about the generation of the Word before the foundation of the world.

2. With respect to the former point, it is a gratuitous assertion of his own; nor can he produce even the slightest argument for his opinion. Indeed, there are not wanting very manifest reasons for the contrary. For, first, Justin cites these verses as already well known, and long before received among the heathen, under the name of Orpheus; so that it is very unlikely that they were the forgery of a new and obscure sect, almost unknown among the heathen. Justin thus prefaces his quotation from these Orphic verses^c; "For I suppose it is not unknown to some of you, who have no doubt read the histories of Diodorus and those of the rest who have treated of these things, that Orpheus, and Homer, and Solon who wrote laws for the Athenians, and Pythagoras, and Plato, and some others, after having visited Egypt and got assistance from the books of Moses, afterwards taught the contrary to that which they had before erroneously thought respecting the gods."

[293] 3. In these words (if I mistake not) Justin intimates the true origin of the Orphic verses, namely, that some writer of considerable antiquity, who was acquainted with both the Mosaic writings and the Jewish system, had long before published those verses under the name of Orpheus, (for I should not believe with Justin that Orpheus was himself the author of them,) and that they were well known among the heathen some centuries before the birth of Justin, as the verses of the most famous poet Orpheus. I hold it, I say, most probable that the Orphic verses proceeded from the

^c [οὗ γὰρ λανθάνειν ἐνίοις ὑμῶν οἶμαι, ἐντύχοντας πάντας που τῇ τε Διοδώρου ἱστορίᾳ καὶ ταῖς τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν περὶ τούτων ἱστορησάντων, ὅτι καὶ Ὀρφεὺς καὶ Ὀμηρος καὶ Σόλων, ὁ τοὺς νόμους Ἀθηναίοις γεγραφὼς, καὶ Πυθαγόρας καὶ

Πλάτων καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς, ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ γενόμενοι καὶ ἐκ τῆς Μωϋσέως ἱστορίας ὠφεληθέντες, ὕστερον ἐνάντια τῶν προτέρων μὴ καλῶς περὶ θεῶν δοξάντων αὐτοῖς ἀπεφώνησαντο.]—Cohort. ad Græcos, p. 15. [§ 14. p. 18.]

Jewish system¹. For the man who denies that heathen writers borrowed much from the writings of Moses and the Hebrews, surely deserves to be censured as wanting either in wisdom or modesty. This fact is abundantly testified by the undoubted writings of the heathen, which teach things respecting the unity of God and the creation of the world, which could scarcely, if at all, have been known or learnt from any other source than the Church of God. Now the Jewish religion then chiefly began to be known to the heathen, when that people was first expelled from their country, and scattered among the various nations of the world; and afterwards the divine oracles themselves, (by the singular providence of God, preparing the way for the call of the Gentiles,) were translated by the LXX. elders at Alexandria, at king Ptolemy's command, into Greek, the common language of most nations. Who can wonder, then, if from that time there should be found in the writings of heathens, some things that are in agreement with the Jewish system?

CHAP. IV.
§ 1—5.
¹ disciplina.

4. But (you will ask) how can this be applied to the Orphic verses, since in them there is mention made of the *Λόγος* or Word, as that by which all things were created, which was unknown even to the Jews themselves? I answer; That the Word of God was well known to the Jews, is abundantly testified by the Chaldee Paraphrase, which gives the name of *מִמְרָא* or *מִמְרָא*, that is, the Word, to that [Power] by which God makes and orders² all things; a subject on which many commentators have written fully. Among others see Hugo Grotius, in his note on John, chaps. i. and ii.; who there goes so far as to conjecture, that the writer of the Orphic verses took his views concerning the Logos from the Hebrews; and that he was followed by Heraclitus, (in whose works Amelius has observed that this term is found in the same sense,) and Heraclitus by Plato and the Platonists. This subject, however, has been exhausted by the very learned Dr. Allix, in his treatise entitled, “The Judgment of the ancient Jewish Church, in opposition to the Unitarians.”

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² prescribit.

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5. I will observe in passing, that I hold the opinion that the Sibylline oracles also, which Justin and others after him alleged respecting Christ, in opposition to the heathen,

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might possibly have emanated from the same source. For I cannot be induced to believe that these prophecies were forged by the fathers of the primitive Church, or were obtruded on them by pious frauds, as some learned men confidently assert ; thus rashly and immodestly casting, what our countryman Montague^d calls an insufferable reproach, on those holy bishops. For what do they produce in support of so strange an assertion ? Surely nothing but mere vain surmises. Whilst, on the contrary, the reasons which make for us are clear. For, in the first place, who can suppose that Justin and other fathers (men of piety and wisdom) would have dared to allege the spurious and supposititious verses of the Sibyls, in the presence of emperors, and before nations, (to whom those oracles could not but have been very well known,) in defence of their faith, appealing with the greatest confidence even to the very copies which were preserved by the pagans ? Indeed Justin, near the end of his Exhortation, appeals to the Sibylline oracles about Christ, as notorious to all the world. These are his words^e ; “ Be convinced by the most venerable and ancient Sibyl, whose books, as it happens, are preserved throughout the world,” &c. I do not indeed forget that the pagans once objected against the Christians, that they had inserted much [of their own] into the Sibylline verses ; for Celsus pretended as much ; as we learn from Origen’s work against Celsus, vii.^f But yet I also know Origen’s answer to Celsus in the same passage, to wit, that he had not pointed out what those passages were which the Christians inserted, which he unquestionably would have done if he had had copies more ancient or more free from corruption. And indeed if such a fraud on the part of the Christians had been detected in the days of Celsus, Theophilus, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, &c., would have been the most foolish and barefaced of men, who did not blush afterwards, to allege these same oracles in opposition to the heathen.

6. Besides, we find some passages in heathen writers, who lived either before the birth of Christ, or at the very time at

^d Appar. iii. p. 41.

^e περὶ σθητε τῇ ἀρχαιοτάτῃ καὶ σφόδρα
παλαιᾷ Σιβύλλῃ, ἥς τὰς βίβλους ἐν πάσῃ

τῇ οἰκουμένῃ σώζεσθαι συμβαίνει, κ.τ.λ.

—[§ 38. p. 35.]

^f P. 369. [§§ 53, 56, pp. 732, 734.]

which our Lord was living upon earth, that are taken from those Sibylline books, which exactly correspond with what the Fathers quote from the same writings. Justin Martyr (Apol. ii.^g) quotes the Sibyls as predicting the conflagration of the world in these words; “The Sibyl and Hystaspis said, that there would be a dissolution of all corruptible things by fire.” Ovid had taught (Metam. i. 256^h) the same out of the prophetic books;—

“He remembers too that it is fated that a time shall come,
When sea, and earth, and the dome of heaven being seized by fire
Shall burn, and the whole mass of the universe shall be consumed.”

The early Christians brought forward many passages out of the Sibylline oracles concerning their King Messiah, who was to bring peace and salvation to the whole world. But Cicero, (On Divination, book ii.) says, that in favour of Julius Cæsar, [296] (who was really, though not in name, then king,) the following sentence was produced by an interpreter of the Sibylline books; “If we would be saved, we must have a king;”—a prophecy, which even Molinæusⁱ (though otherwise not very favourable to the oracles of the Sibyls) declares that he thinks pointed to Christ and His kingdom, whereby salvation has been procured for all who are obedient to his sway; as Gro-tius also thought, on Matthew ii. 1.

7. The clearest passages, however, are those which Virgil, in his fourth Eclogue, takes from the Cumæan verses, concerning the Boy, who should descend from heaven, be born of a Virgin, rule over the whole world, blot out the sins of mankind, and slay the serpent, and bring back the golden age;—all which the poet, gathering from the circumstances of the time that the period designated by the Sibyl had arrived, yet not catching the true sense of these prophecies, applied with shameful flattery (or, if you will, with poetic licence) to Saloninus the son of Pollio, who was then just born. Respecting these, again, Molinæus professes^j, that, after an attentive persual, he had often been carried away in amazement, how it should have happened, that the verses

^g Σίβυλλα δὲ καὶ Ὅττάσις γενήσε-
σθαι τῶν φθαρτῶν ἀνάλωσιν διὰ πυρὸς
ἔφασαν.—[Apol. i. 20. p. 55.]

^h Esse quoque in fatis reminiscitur
affore tempus,

Quo mare, quo tellus, correptaque
regia cœli
Ardeat, et mundi moles operosa
laboret.

ⁱ Vates, iii. 14.

^j Ubi supra.

- of this Eclogue applied so exactly to the birth and kingdom of Christ; which Virgil professes to have derived from the verses of the Sibyl. Molinæus adds, that greater weight attaches to these verses, inasmuch as they were written by
- 21 Virgil at Rome (where the Sibylline books were kept in the Palatine library) at the very time when Christ was born in Judea. It will be worth our while to transcribe here the verses of Virgil, as Molinæus has illustrated them by his comment; "The poet therefore, raising his song above the style of an Eclogue, thus begins^k:—

" ' Sicilian Muse, begin a loftier strain ! ' "

[297] " He then adds^l:—

" ' And now the last period predicted in Cumæan verse has come ;
The great cycle of the ages is beginning its course anew.
Now the Maiden is returning, the reign of Saturn is returning,
And a new progeny is being sent down from the high heaven.
Do but thou, chaste Lucina, smile upon the Boy now being born,
Under whom the iron race shall first come to an end,
And they of the golden age shall spring up over the whole world. ' "

" Surely this is wonderful; the Maiden, the birth of the Boy, the descent from heaven, the golden age under him, and all taken from the Sibylline verses, and that at the very time at which Christ was being born. He afterwards addresses the Boy in these words^m;—

" ' Under Thy guidance, if any traces of our sin remain,
They shall be put away, and shall free the earth from continued dread. ' "

" He predicts that our sins would be blotted out by this Boy. Alas! how different is this from the usual strain of poets! but he also promises the destruction of the serpent under the reign of this Boyⁿ;—

" ' The serpent shall perish; and the deceiving poisonous herb
Shall die, and the balsam of Assyria shall everywhere spring up. ' "

^k Sicelides Musæ paulo majora
canamus.—[Virg. Ecl. iv. 1.]
^l Ultima Cumæi venit jam car-
minis ætas,
Magnus ab integro seclorum
nascitur ordo.
Jam redit et Virgo, redeunt
Saturnia regna.
Jam nova progenies cœlo de-
mittitur alto.
Tu modo nascenti puero, quo
ferrea primum

Desinet, ac toto surget gens
aurea mundo,
Casta fave Lucina —. [Ibid.
4.]
^m Te duce, si qua manent sceleris
vestigia nostri,
Irrita perpetua solvent formi-
dine terras.—[Ibid. 13.]
ⁿ Occidet et serpens, et fallax
herba veneni
Occidet, Assyrium vulgo nasec-
tur amomum.—[Ibid. 24.]

“ And a little after ° ;—

“ — and with the virtues of his Father shall he rule
The world in peace.’

CHAP. IV.
§ 7, 8.

“ By the *fallax herba veneni*, ‘ the deceiving poisonous herb,’ understand false doctrines and the worship of idols ; and by the *Assyrium amomum*, ‘ the balsam of Assyria,’ which was everywhere to spring up, the doctrine of the Gospel, which was to be carried round the world. For no doubt in the Sibylline verses it was the *Syrium amomum* which was everywhere to grow ; Judea being in Syria, from which the preaching of the Gospel first came forth ; but Virgil put *Assyrium* instead of *Syrium*, making this easy alteration for the sake of the metre.”

8. You will ask, whence the heathen obtained these so clear [298] oracles concerning Christ ? I reply, from the Jews, especially those of the dispersion, who, on every occasion which was given or taken, used boastingly to publish the most magnificent descriptions of their King Messiah out of the oracles of their prophets ; for from the time when the Jews were driven into exile, the promises and predictions of the prophets concerning the Messiah and the coming age were understood by the whole people of God more clearly than they had ever been before ; God’s gracious providence so ordering it, that His people in their deepest afflictions, and when groaning under a foreign rule, might be raised up by the hope of those promises. Abundant evidence of this occurs in the writings of those Hebrews who lived in the interval between the Babylonian captivity and the coming of our Lord. If, however, any one doubt whether the fame and knowledge of these oracles reached the heathen, let him consider but that one remarkable prophecy only, which both Cornelius Tacitus and Suetonius mention as having before the coming of Christ spread throughout the whole world,—that out of Judea should arise one who should have [universal] empire¹. “ The persuasion prevailed among many,”¹ *rerum.* says Tacitus², Hist. v. 13, “ that there was contained in the ancient writings of the priests [a prophecy], that at that very time the East should grow strong, and that there should come from Judea those who should have [universal] empire.”

° Pacatumque reget patriis virtutibus orbem.—[Ibid. 17.]

² Pluribus persuasio inerat, antiquis

sacerdotum literis contineri, eo ipso tempore fore ut valesceret oriens, perfectique Judæa rerum potirentur.

While Suetonius, in his *Vespasian*, chap. 4, says^a; "There had spread all through the East an ancient and uniform opinion, that the fates had decreed that at that time should come from Judea those that should have [universal] empire."

[299] 9. If you ask again, in what way these Jewish oracles could have crept into the Sibylline books, which were kept in the Capitol at Rome? the answer is obvious; The books, which they called Sibylline, were of two kinds; some bought by Tarquin and preserved in the Capitol down to the days of Sylla, when the Capitol was destroyed by fire, and these books burnt: these must have proceeded from the devil, since it is plain from Livy, that in them were prescribed many impious and idolatrous superstitions. But besides these, others also had been brought from Erythræ by the three ambassadors, (whom the Roman senate entrusted with that business after the restoration of the Capitol,) and had been subsequently laid up at Rome in the Capitol. These verses, Lactantius informs us, i. 6, 12, amounted to a thousand in number. But Cornelius Tacitus states also, that persons had been sent by Octavius Augustus into different parts in quest of others. In his *Annals*, vi. 12, he says^r; "When the verses of the Sibyl had been collected in Samos, Ilion, Erythræ, and also throughout Africa, Sicily, and the Italian colonies, the duty was assigned to the priests of distinguishing, so far as human means enabled them, which of them were genuine." And Suetonius, in his *Augustus*, chap. 31, tells us^s; "Whatever prophetic books in Greek and Latin were in common circulation, whose authors were unknown or of no authority, he collected from every quarter, to the number of above two thousand, and burnt them, retaining only the Sibylline; and these only after a careful selection had been made; and laid them up in two golden cases beneath the pedestal¹ of the Palatine Apollo." Of this collection too Dionysius of Halicarnassus, iv., writes

¹ basi.

^a Percrebrerat oriente toto vetus et constans opinio, esse in fatiis, ut eo tempore Judæa profecti rerum potirentur.

^r Quæsitis Samo, Illo, Erythris, per Africam etiam ac Siciliam et Italicas colonias carminibus Sibyllæ, . . . datum sacerdotibus negotium, quantum humana ope potuissent, vera discernere.

^s Quicquid fatidicorum librorum Græci Latinique generis nullis vel parum idoneis auctoribus vulgo ferebatur, supra duo millia contracta undique cremavit, ac solos retinuit Sibyllinos; hos quoque delectu habito; condiditque duobus forulis auratis sub Palatini Apollinis basi.

as follows^t; "But those which are now extant," (meaning the Sibylline oracles,) "are such as have been collected from different places; some brought from the cities of Italy, others from Erythræ in Asia, and others again from different cities, copies of some being even derived from private individuals." Now in this search after Sibylline prophecies, who does not see at once that many foreign, and those too Jewish, prophecies might easily have been regarded as Sibylline verses (all the more remarkable oracles, as these especially were, commonly bearing that celebrated name), and with the rest might have been removed to Rome? since it was quite impossible for the Roman priests, in so great an abundance of prophetic books, to determine for certain which were genuine and which were not. For what sure criterion could those priests have had for distinguishing the real verses of the Sibyl from those which were false and spurious? Was that ancient original¹, which had been burnt along with the Capitol, so familiar to them that they were able, when they saw a copy, easily to recollect what portion of it agreed with the original, and what did not? Surely not! For (besides the fact, that the Sibylline prophecies were consulted but seldom, and only on extraordinary occasions), the original of the Sibylline verses was lost A.U.C. 671, that is, B.C. 81. Whereas the selection above mentioned was made at Rome A.U.C. 741, that is, B.C. 11, when Augustus himself held the office of Pontifex Maximus; so that between this selection and the time when the original of the Sibylline verses was destroyed with the Capitol, there was an interval of seventy clear years. Or lastly, when the book of the Sibylline verses was burnt with the Capitol, did any other copies² survive at Rome, as Baronius^u thinks? That is extremely improbable; for, as Molinæus rightly observes, if these verses had survived the destruction of the Capitol, the Senate would not have despatched ambassadors through Greece in quest of Sibylline verses, to repair this loss. What rule then had those priests left, whereby to distinguish the genuine Sibylline verses from the spurious? Certainly none. Hence the cautious remark of Tacitus in the passage

CHAP. IV.
§ 8, 9.

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¹ αὐτόγρα-
φον.

² alia anti-
grapha.

^t οἱ δὲ νῦν ὄντες ἐκ πολλῶν εἰσι σύμφοροι τῶν τόπων· [οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πόλεων κοιμισθέντες· οἱ δὲ ἐξ Ἑρυθρῶν τῶν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ, . . οἱ δὲ ἐξ ἄλλων πόλεων,

καὶ παρ' ἀνδρῶν ἰδιωτῶν μεταγραφέντες. [c. 62.]

^u Appar. ad Ann. § 25.

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we have quoted from him ; “ so far as human means enabled them.”

10. Thus the origin of the Sibylline oracles, as they are called, concerning Christ, seems to me to be plain enough, namely, that they came from the Jews. And so Gregory Nazianzen of old judged correctly, who in his poem to Nemesius says, that Trismegistus and the Sibyl did not utter under divine inspiration all that they prophesied concerning God, but took it from the sacred books of the Hebrews, which they had happened to read¹ ;—

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¹ obiter
perlege-
rant.

“ Not from God, but having looked at my books.”

Here his only mistake is, that he thought that those oracles were compiled by the Sibyls themselves. So also before him Clement of Alexandria calls the Sibyl, “ the prophetess of the Hebrews,” in his Admonition to the Gentiles, pp. 46, 47^x. See also the note of Grotius on Matt. ii. 1. And indeed in those verses themselves there are not a few passages which exhibit no obscure indications of this their origin. Such is that which is quoted by Lactantius in praise of the Jewish nation, in iv. 20^y :—

“ Godlike race of happy heaven-born Jews.”

And again^z,—

“ But when Rome shall be lord also of Egypt,

² εἰς ἐν δη-
θίνουσα.

Continuing long united in one², then shall the supreme kingdom
Of the King immortal over men appear.”

These words simply contain a clear exposition of the prophecy of Daniel respecting the empire which God should give to Messiah, after the posterity of Seleucus and Lagus ceased to reign. Of the same kind is that which is said of the elevation of the Holy City, namely Jerusalem, to be the metropolis of the entire world^a ;—

“ And the city which God made, He made it

Brighter than the stars, and the sun, and the moon.”

Moreover, the compiler of the Sibylline verses almost everywhere speaks the sentiments of the Jews concerning

^v οὐ θεόθεν, βίβλων δὲ παραβλεψάν-
τες ἐμείο.

^x τῆς προφήτιδος τῆς Ἑβραίων. [p.
61.]

^y Ἰουδαίων μακάρων θεῶν γένος οὐρα-
νίων.

^z αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ Ῥώμη καὶ Αἰγύπτου
βασιλεύσει,

εἰς ἐν δηθίνουσα, τότε βασιλεία
μεγίστη
ἀθανάτου βασιλῆος ἐπ’ ἀνθρώποις
φανείται.

^a καὶ πόλιν, ἣν ἐποίησε Θεὸς, αὐτὴν
ἐποίησε
λαμπρότεραν ἡστρων, καὶ ἡλίου, ἥδὲ
σελήνης.—Lactant. vii. 24.

Messiah's kingdom. Of the universal peace which was to come to pass in the days of the Messiah, he writes thus ^b;—

CHAP. IV.
§ 9—11.

"And the wolves contend in sport ¹ with lambs upon the mountains;
For the lynxes eat grass together with the kids,
Bears with calves and with all human beings together;
The carnivorous animals shall eat grass at the mangers;
And dragons shall sleep with motherless infants."

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¹ ἀμιλλοῦνται.

Compare Isaiah xi. 6, 7, and lxx. 25. In another passage respecting the fertility of nature ^c;—

"And then shall God give great joy to men;
For earth and trees, and earth's countless nurslings,
Shall yield the true fruit to mankind
Of wine and sweet honey, and white milk
And bread, which to mortals is the best [gift] of all."

And again, in like manner ^d;—

"And the sacred land of the godly alone shall yield all this:
Streams of honey from the rock and from the fountain,
And the milk of ambrosia shall flow for all the righteous."

Here is to be especially observed, [what is said] of the especial privilege of the Holy Land, *i. e.* of Judea. In almost the same words does the prince of poets, from the Cumæan verses, describe the golden age of his King, who should be born, in the Eclogue which we have just quoted.

11. Now all that I have said I would have to be understood in the first place of the Sibylline oracles adduced by Justin, Clement, Theophilus, and the more ancient fathers; meanwhile I do not deny, that by the Christians of later times some interpolations were made in the Sibylline books. Among this class must be placed that acrostic, which Constantine (or as some say Eusebius) mentioned in his Oration to the Saints, chap. 18, where the first letters of the verses form these words,

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^b οἱ δὲ λύκοι σὺν ἄρνεσ' ἐν οὐρεσὶν
ἀμιλλοῦνται·
χόρτον γὰρ λύγκες τ' ἐρίφοισιν ἅμα
βόσκονταί,
ἄρκτοι σὺν μόσχοισιν ὁμοῦ καὶ
πᾶσι βροτοῖσι·
σαρκοβόρος τε λέων φάγετ' ἄχυρον
παρὰ φάνταϊς.
σὺν βρέφεσιν τε δράκοντες ἀμάτορ-
σι κοιμήσονται.—[Ibid.]
^c καὶ τότε δὴ χάριμν μεγάλην Θεὸς
ἀνδράσι δώσει·
καὶ γὰρ γῆ καὶ δένδρα, καὶ ἄσπετα

θρέμματα γαίης
δώσουσιν καρπὸν τὸν ἀληθινὸν ἀν-
θρώποισι
οἶνον καὶ μέλιτος γλυκεροῦ, λευκοῦ
τε γάλακτος
καὶ σίτον, ὑπερ ἔστι βροτοῖς κάλ-
λιστον πάντων.—[Ibid.]
^d εὐσεβέων δὲ μόνων ἀγία χθὼν πάν-
τα τὰδ' οἴσει
νῆμα μέλιτος ἀπὸ πέτρης ἥδ' ἀπὸ
πηγῆς,
καὶ γάλατ' ἀμβροσίης ρεύσει πάν-
τέσσι δικαίοις.—Ibid.

[303] Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, Θεοῦ Υἱὸς, Σωτὴρ, Σταυρὸς—[Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour, Cross :] of which certainly neither Justin, nor Theophilus, nor Clement of Alexandria has anywhere made mention; although Cicero also (On Divination, ii.) speaks of a certain acrostic of the Sibyl; but he nowhere tells us what was contained in it. Without doubt those Sibylline oracles are also spurious, in which some actions of Christ are narrated with such clearness and exact statement of every circumstance, that one would suppose they contained history rather than prophecy. Of this kind is that about the miracle of the loaves, quoted by Lactantius, iv. 15^e;—

“ With five loaves in all and with two fishes
Shall He satisfy five thousand men in the wilderness.
And having taken afterward all the fragments that remain,
He shall fill twelve baskets for the hope of many.”

Who can suppose that these lines and others like them, which are found in Lactantius, are not taken from the history of the Gospel? It is certain nothing of this kind is to be found quoted by Justin, Theophilus, and Clement from the Sibylline oracles; and as they were most studious readers of the Sibylline verses, and on other occasions seized every opportunity of assailing the pagan religion with its own weapons, they would never have passed over these so plain prophecies about Christ, if they had met with them in the Sibylline books that were received in their time. But Lactantius, who wrote about the beginning of the fourth century, after Constantine had professed himself a Christian, was the first to produce these verses under the name of the Sibyls in opposition to the heathen.

12. The following then is the result of this discussion. In the first place, it is certain that there were extant among the heathen, before the birth of Christ, some prophecies held to be Sibylline, wherein were set forth the worship of one God and what pertained to the Messiah's future kingdom; and to which accordingly Justin and other primitive Christians rightly and most justly appealed in their controversies against the heathen. In the second place, it is most probable that

^e ἐν ἔργοις ἅμα πέντε καὶ ἰχθύεσσι
δυοῖν
ἀνδρῶν χιλιάδας ἐν ἐρήμῳ πέντε
κορέσκει

καὶ τὰ περισσεύοντα λαβὼν μετὰ
κλάσματα πάντα,
δώδεκα πληρώσει κοφίρους εἰς ἑλ-
πίδα πολλῶν.

those oracles did not, as was thought, come from the Sibyls themselves, who were heathen women; but from wise men, who flourished among the people of God (I mean the Jews) after the Babylonian captivity; and there is no reason why we should be surprised that these men more fully and plainly laid open¹ the obscurer declarations of the prophets; especially if the divine plan be more deeply considered, by which it was brought about that, as the times of the Gospel approached, the evangelical promises and predictions should more clearly shine forth; God no doubt intending that before the Sun which was to arise, there should be, as it were, a kind of dawn. Lastly, it is but too plain, that some things were afterwards added to these oracles to give them a clearer explanation; while others again were invented and put together by some idle men who were professed Christians. This, as Molinæus rightly judged, the old Serpent seems to have effected with the design, that by there being much that was false intermingled with the true, doubt might be thrown even upon the true. This much have I said by the way, about the Sibylline oracles, and I hope it will not be unacceptable to the reader. I now return to the Orphic verses and Zwicker.

13. And one argument I shall now at last produce, which will put it beyond all controversy, that the Orphic verses which Justin cited (whatever might have been their origin^f), certainly could not have been the invention of any Simonian. It is this; that they contain such statements, concerning God and the creation of the world, as are utterly at variance with the Simonian heresy. For every one knows, who has ever had even the slightest acquaintance with Irenæus, Tertullian, and other fathers, who have written about the Simonians, that those heretics taught that the visible world was not created by God Himself, nor through² His Word, but by inferior² powers. The author of the Orphic verses, on the contrary, everywhere affirms that this visible world is the work of the Supreme God Himself, and that it was created through the Word, as may be seen from that long passage of the Orphic

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§ 11—13.

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¹ enucleasse.

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^f [Tatian, the disciple of Justin, says that the verses which are attributed to Orpheus were composed by Onoma-

critus the Athenian, who was contemporary with Pisistratus. 41. p. 275. B.]

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verses which is cited by Justin^g. Those verses too which Zwicker quotes in part, and which follow soon after in the same place of Justin, contain this same doctrine. They are as follow^h;—

“I adjure thee by heaven, the work of God great and wise;
I adjure thee by the Father's Word, which He uttered at the first,
When He established the whole world by His own counsels.”

I should therefore suppose that anybody, rather than a disciple of Simon, was the author of these verses. And now of Zwicker's conjecture (or rather his wild dream) that the Orphic verses were a forgery of the Simonians, more than enough has been said.

- 24 14. It is followed by another invention of his, not less (nay much more) absurd, and utterly void of all semblance of truth; to the effect that it was in reliance on these Orphic verses that Justin propounded his notion of the generation of the Word before the foundation of the world. For, who that had not lost his understanding¹ entirely, could even suspect that a man of sanctity and discretion could have built his belief and opinion respecting a primary article of Christianity on the verses of a heathen, nay more (as Zwicker observes), of a magician; or have been willing to depart from the rule of apostolic doctrine (which prevailed everywhere in the Church before him), under the influence of an argument so slight, nay so utterly nought? Besides, Justin never formally quotes these Orphic verses for the purpose of establishing his opinion respecting the divine generation of Christ. It is only twice (if I remember rightly) that he cites the Orphic verses, namely, in his Exhortation to the Gentilesⁱ, and in his treatise On the Divine Monarchy^k; and in both passages he is simply engaged in defending the unity of God against the polytheism of the heathen. In the former passage, indeed, he incidentally, and as it were by the way, mentions and comments on these Orphic statements about the Father's Word and Voice; without the slightest hint² that he had learnt the generation of the Word from Orpheus;

¹ prorsus
emotæ
mentis.

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² ne apice
tamen ullo
innuens.

^g Exhortation to the Greeks, pp. 15, 16. [pp. 18, 19.]

^h οὐρανὸν ὀρκίζω σε Θεοῦ μεγάλου
σοφοῦ ἔργον,
αὐδὴν ὀρκίζω σε Πατρός, τὴν φθέγ-

ξάτο πρῶτον
ἡνίκα κόσμον ἅπαντα ἐαῖς στηρί-
ξάτο Βουλαῖς.—[Ibid.]

ⁱ [15. p. 18.]

^k [2. p. 37.]

on the contrary, he expressly affirms, that that writer had borrowed his own statements about the Word, from the sacred oracles of the Old Testament. What Justin says is this¹; “He here gives the name ‘Voice’ to the Word of God, by whom the heaven and the earth and all the creation was made, as we” (observe the word) “are taught by the sacred prophecies of holy men, which he also partially becoming acquainted with in Egypt, knew that all the creation was made by the Word of God.” The reader of these words of Justin will (I doubt not) wonder with what face Zwicker could have said^m, that Justin “accommodated, as did nearly all his successors, his opinion concerning Christ to the Orphic verses, as to a sort of divine foundation, and confirmed it by them.” But why do I loiter over trifles and follies so palpable? For certain it is, that merely to state this conjecture of Zwicker’s is, with all men of sense, to refute it.

¹ αὐδὴν ἐνταῦθα τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ ὀνομά-
ζει λόγον, δι’ οὗ οὐρανὸς, καὶ γῆ, καὶ ἡ
πᾶσα ἐγένετο κτίσις, ὡς διδάσκουσιν ἡμᾶς
αἱ θεῖαι τῶν ἁγίων ἀνδρῶν προφητεῖαι,
αἷς ἐν μέρει καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ

προσχῶν ἔγνω ὅτι τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ
πᾶσα ἐγένετο ἡ κτίσις.—[Cohort. ad
Gent. § 15. p. 18.]

^m Iren. p. 31.

THAT JUSTIN DID NOT LEARN WHAT HE HAS ADVANCED ABOUT THE WORD,
IN THE SCHOOL OF PLATO.

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1. HAVING considered, and on the best possible ground rejected, those primary causes, which, as Zwicker surmises, led Justin to ascribe a divine nature to Jesus Christ; it remains that we should now also bring under review those secondary causes, of Zwicker's own invention, that set forward Justin in what he is pleased to call his error. And I cannot doubt, but that, having so routed the main body of arguments, which the heretic drew up in array against divine truth, we shall obtain an easy victory over his subsidiary forces. Of these secondary causes he enumerates four^a; namely, [1.] "The love of the Platonic philosophy. [2.] The memory of Gentilism not yet wholly obliterated. [3.] The custom of placing excellent men in the number of the gods. [4.] Lastly, the scruple and dread of worshipping one, who was a mere man."

2. Before, however, we examine these causes, the inventions of an infelicitous mind, singly and in their several order, I cannot refrain from making (for my reader's sake) this general observation; that, although Zwicker boasts that he has settled the business, and that the origin of the opinion touching this new production of Christ is manifestly laid open, he is yet really in doubt and absolutely uncertain, by what means, if not from the Scriptures and the teaching of the Apostles, the doctrine of the Divinity of the Son could have been introduced into the Christian Churches. For if he could have been certain about some one cause, to which the origin of

so various, and, as will afterwards appear, so absolutely contradictory to one another? For in the first place he endeavours to shew, that the doctrine of the Catholic Church respecting the divine nature of the Son arose from the Simonian heresy; and in this stronghold (though but a castle in the air, and, as we have seen, most easily demolished) he evidently placed the main defence of his heresy. But not feeling himself secure even here, he sought out for himself another hiding place in the fiction, that certain verses, under the name of Orpheus, had been forged by the Simonians, which led Justin, and the whole Church after him, into the error, as he deems it, of the Divinity of the Son. But what could be more silly than such a story? Accordingly, distrusting this stronghold also, he calls in to the aid of his desperate cause a quaternion of other causes. And now he thinks he is enjoying a brilliant triumph over vanquished truth, vaunting that the question is quite settled, and that the origin of the doctrine respecting the new production of Christ, and so the new Christ, is manifest. But even yet he is not so secure as he wished to appear; and therefore, after enumerating all the said causes, he kept an &c. in reserve for himself; so that, if they also should fail, he might either devise others himself according to his fancy, or at least suggest to his reader some handle for invention. The fact is, Zwicker had determined to reject the doctrine of the divine nature of the Son, as absurd, and as (what he is always proclaiming, but nowhere proves) repugnant to sound reason. With the view, therefore, of subserving this hypothesis of his, he preferred attributing the origin of that doctrine to any cause whatever, to allowing (what the evident state of the case most plainly demonstrates) that in the primitive Churches throughout the world, it had been delivered and promulged, as a part of the apostolical preaching, along with the Gospel itself. But we will now examine these subsidiary causes one by one.

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3. Of the causes, which, it is pretended, moved Justin and others who followed him to embrace the opinion of Christ's divinity, the first in order (according to Zwicker) is "the knowledge and love of the Platonic philosophy." The heretic no doubt meant to insinuate, that Justin, who had previously

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been a disciple of the Platonic philosophy, was, even after his receiving the faith of Christ, too fond of the principles of his old master, and transferred into Christian teaching what he had read in Plato concerning the Logos, and so adulterated what had been before the simple and pure Gospel with a mixture of heathen philosophy. This is at this day the uniform statement and repeated cry of our Unitarians; "Platonism, Platonism," say they, "first corrupted the pure tradition of the Apostles." I, however, for my part, am certain, that Zwicker and others, who cherish in their breast so disparaging an opinion of that most excellent and incomparable man, (whom Photius^b has deservedly honoured with this most distinguished eulogy, that he was "a man, neither in time nor in goodness far removed from the Apostles,") are either perfect strangers to his writings, or wish to deal with the venerable father in a way that is contrary to all the rules, not only of charity, but of justice. For how often, how openly, with what earnest zeal and affection, does this very Justin, (whom the heretic in these unworthy ways calumniates,) confess, that, after he knew Christ, he utterly renounced the philosophy, not only of Plato, but of every other sect, and revered the most sacred oracles of Scripture only! Read his incomparable Dialogue with Trypho the Jew; in it (not far from the beginning) he acknowledges that, while he was yet ignorant of Christ, he was an admirer of the Platonic philosophy especially; but in the same passage he also sharply censures¹ that his former folly. These are his words^c; "While I was in uncertainty, I thought good to converse with the Platonists; for their reputation too was great; and accordingly I spent my time chiefly with an intelligent man, who had lately come to live in our city, and was eminent among the Platonists; and I made progress², and advanced very much every day. What pleased me especially was the understanding of incorporeal things; and the contemplation of ideas elevated my thought; and within a short time I began to

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¹ taxat.

προέκοπ-
τον.

^b ἀνὴρ οὐτε τῷ χρόνῳ πόρρω τῶν ἀποστόλων, οὐτε τῇ ἀρετῇ.—Biblioth. Cod. 234.

^c ἐν ἀμηχανίᾳ δέ μου ὄντος, ἔδοξε μοι καὶ τοῖς Πλατωνικοῖς ἐντυχεῖν· πολλὸν γὰρ καὶ τούτων ἦν κλέος. καὶ δὴ νεωστὶ ἐπιδημήσαντι τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ πόλει συνετῶ

ἀνδρὶ, καὶ προὔχοντι ἐν τοῖς Πλατωνικοῖς, συνδιέτριβον ὥς τὰ μάλιστα, καὶ προέκοπτον, καὶ πλείστον ὕσον ἐκάστης ἡμέρας ἐπεδίδουν. καὶ με ἤρει σφόδρα ἡ τῶν ἀσωμάτων νόσις, καὶ ἡ θεωρία τῶν ἰδεῶν ἀνεπτέρου μοι τὴν φρόνησιν, ὀλίγου τε ἐντὸς χρόνου ὥμην σοφὸς

think I had become a wise man; and in my stupidity¹ I expected I should soon see God." Afterwards, in the same Dialogue, he sets forth the reasons by which he was led from the Platonic to the Christian philosophy, in the course of (what I believe to be) an imaginary conversation, in which he introduces an aged² man of venerable aspect talking with him, while he was wandering alone. On his bringing forward³ Plato and Pythagoras, and other philosophers, in opposition to the truth, the old man says this to him among other things^d; "I care not for Plato, nor for Pythagoras, nor in short⁴ for any one at all who entertains such opinions: for the truth stands thus." Then on Justin's inquiring^e, "But whom besides can one have as a teacher, or whence gain assistance, if the truth is not even with these?" The old man answers^f; "There lived long ago, men more ancient than any of these reputed philosophers, happy, and good, and pious, that spake by a divine Spirit, and foretold things to come, such as are now exactly happening: (they call them prophets:) these alone both saw the truth, and proclaimed it to mankind," &c. The venerable old man says a good deal more in the same passage that is well worth reading; but what Justin's own feelings were at the end of the conversation, he tells us himself^g; "A fire was immediately kindled in my soul, and I became possessed with a love of the prophets and of those men that are friends of Christ. And on discoursing over his words with myself, I found this alone to be safe and useful philosophy; in this way then, and by these means, am I a philosopher." So that the love of Plato's philosophy, with which Justin was inflamed before, was extinguished in him upon his discovery of the heavenly doctrine, and a new and ardent love for the sacred Scriptures

CHAP. V.
§ 3.¹ ὑπὸ βλακείας.² vetulum.
³ obtrudenti.⁴ ἀπλῶς.

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γεγονέναι, καὶ ὑπὸ βλακείας ἡλπίζον αὐτίκα κατῴψεσθαι τὸν θεόν.—p. 219. [§ 2. p. 103.]

^d οὐδὲν ἔμοι μέλει Πλάτωνος, οὐδὲ Πυθαγόρου, οὐδὲ ἀπλῶς οὐδενὸς ὅλως τοιαῦτα δοξάζοντος· τὸ γὰρ ἀληθὲς οὕτως ἔχει.—p. 224. [§ 6. p. 108.]

^e τίνοι οὖν ἔτι τις χρῆσταιτο διδασκάλῳ, ἢ πόθεν ὠφεληθεῖται, εἰ μὴδὲ ἐν τούτοις τὸ ἀληθὲς ἔστιν.—[§ 7. p. 109.]

^f ἐγένοντό τινες πρὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου πάντων τούτων τῶν νομιζομένων φιλοσόφων παλαιότεροι, μακάριοι, καὶ δίκαιοι,

καὶ θεοφιλεῖς, θείῳ πνεύματι λαλήσαντες, καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα θεοπίσαντες, ἃ δὴ νῦν γίνεται· (προφῆτας δὲ αὐτοὺς καλοῦσιν) οὗτοι μόνον τὸ ἀληθὲς καὶ εἶδον, καὶ ἐείπον ἀνθρώποις, κ.λ.—[ibid.]

^g ἔμοι δὲ παραχρῆμα πῦρ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἀνῆψεν, καὶ ἔρως ἔχει με τῶν προφητῶν, καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων, οἳ εἰσι Χριστοῦ φίλοι. διαλογιζόμενός τε πρὸς ἑμαυτὸν τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ, ταύτην μόνον εὐρισκὸν φιλοσοφίαν ἀσφαλῆ τε καὶ σύμφορον· οὕτως δὲ καὶ διὰ ταῦτα φιλόσοφος ἐγώ.—p. 225. [§ 8. p. 109.]

took its place, and penetrated the innermost heart of the holy man.

4. With what care this heavenly flame was afterwards cherished by Justin is very clear from his writings; in which he throughout extols the holy Scriptures with extraordinary praises, (lightly regarding philosophy even of the highest order, in comparison with them,) and every where appeals to them, strenuously affirming that all divine truth must be sought in them alone. Especially worthy of observation are his words, near the commencement of his Exhortation to the Gentiles. After shewing there at length, that nothing certain respecting divine things can be known or learnt in the writings of philosophers, of whatever sect they be, he at last concludes^h; "Since, therefore, it is not possible to learn anything true respecting religion from your teachers, who have given you sufficient proof of their own ignorance by their divisions among themselves, I think it remains for us to pass over to our ancestors, who are both much earlier in time than the teachers that existed among you, and who teach us nothing of their own private fancy, nor yet differ among themselves, or labour to overthrow each other's teaching, but having received their knowledge from God without contention and without party strife, instruct us in the same: for it was not possible for men to know things so great and divine, either by nature or by human thought, but only by the gift which in those ages¹ came down from above upon holy men."
- [313] What could have been said more clear, or more apposite to our purpose? Justin thought that nothing whatever of truth respecting divine things could be learnt with certainty from heathen philosophers, and that therefore we must always have recourse to inspired men when such subjects come to be treated of. Is it then likely that he himself wished to draw his doctrine respecting God and the divine Persons,

¹ τηνικαὶ-
τα.

^h οὐκοῦν ἐπειδήπερ οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς περὶ θεοσεβείας παρὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων διδασκάλων μαθάνειν ἐστὶ δυνατόν, ἱκανὴν ὑμῖν ἀπόδειξιν τῆς ἐαυτῶν ἀγνοίας διὰ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους στάσεως παρεσχηκότων, ἀκόλουθον ἡγοῦμαι ἀνελθεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους προγόνους, τοὺς καὶ τοὺς χρόνους τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν διδασκάλων πολλῶν προειληφότας, καὶ μηδὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας αὐτῶν φαντασίας διδάξαντας ἡμᾶς, μηδὲ

πρὸς ἀλλήλους διενεχθέντας ἢ τὰ ἀλλήλων ἀνατρέπειν πειρωμένους, ἀλλ' ἀφιλονείκως καὶ ἀστασιάστως τὴν παρὰ Θεοῦ δεξαμένους γνῶσιν, καὶ ταύτην διδάσκοντας ἡμᾶς. οὔτε γὰρ φύσει, οὔτε ἀνθρωπίνῃ ἐννοίᾳ οὕτω μεγάλα καὶ θεία γινώσκειν ἀνθρώποις δυνατόν, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἄνωθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀγίους ἄνδρας τηνικαῦτα κατελθοῦσιν δωρεᾷ.—pp. 8, 9. [§ 8. p. 12.]

(surely by far the most sublime and heavenly among things great and divine,) from the writings either of Plato, or of any other philosophical sect whatever? But in another passage also he expressly teaches, that in any questions whatever about religion the Scriptures alone are to be heard, our proofs to be derived from them, their words again and again inculcated, that nothing in the world can be found out by any man better than what these Scriptures contain. His words occur in his Dialogue with Trypho to the following effect¹; “For it is a ridiculous thing to see the sun, and the moon, and the other stars, always pursuing the same path, and accomplishing the changes of the seasons; and a man who is an arithmetician¹, if one ask, how many twice two are, [not] ceasing to answer again ‘four,’ because he has often said ‘four’ before; and all other things, in like manner, which are firmly allowed by general consent², always asserted and confessed in the same way: and yet to see the man who discourses out of the prophetic Scriptures, leave them³, and not uniformly allege the same Scriptures, but imagine himself able to produce a something better than the Scripture.” In these words he also very beautifully describes the supreme consistency of the Christian, with which he steadfastly cleaves to the Scriptures alone. As much as to say, You may more easily turn the sun and the moon and the rest of the stars from their appointed course, or persuade a mathematician to desert his own well-known principles, than drive the true Christian from that his sacred standard and most certain rule of the Scriptures. Who now can even suspect, that on the fundamental doctrine of Christianity, Justin turned aside from the beaten path of Holy Scripture to strange dogmas, or wished to introduce into the Churches of Christ a new doctrine concerning Christ, and so (once more to use Zwicker’s phrase) a new Christ, in opposition to the truth of Scripture itself, and also of that apostolic tradition which obtained everywhere before his time?

CHAP. V.
§ 3. 4.

¹ τὸν ψηφιστικὸν ἀνδρα.

² παγίως ὁμολογεῖται.
³ ἑᾶν.

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¹ γελοῖον μὲν γὰρ πρῶτόν ἐστιν ὁρᾶν τὸν ἥλιον, καὶ τὴν σελήνην, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἄστρα τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν αἰεὶ καὶ τὰς τροπὰς τῶν ὡρῶν ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τὸν ψηφιστικὸν ἄνδρα, εἰ ἐξετάζει τὸ, τὰ δις δύο πόσα ἐστὶ, διὰ τὸ πολλάκις εἰρηκέναι ὅτι τέσσαρα, [μὴ] παύσεσθαι τοῦ πάλιν λέγειν ὅτι τέσσαρα, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὁμοίως ὅσα

παγίως ὁμολογεῖται, αἰεὶ ὡς ἄνωγας λέγεισθαι καὶ ὁμολογεῖσθαι τὸν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν τῶν προφητικῶν ὁμιλίας ποιούμενον ἑᾶν καὶ μὴ τὰς αὐτὰς αἰεὶ λέγειν γραφάς, ἀλλ’ ἡγεῖσθαι ἑαυτὸν βέλτιον τῆς γραφῆς γεννησάντα εἰπεῖν.—Pr. 311, 312. [§ 85. p. 182.]

5. What shall we say of the fact, that the excellent father (as if he had been a prophet, and had foreseen what was to come) has himself in his own words, as if on purpose, anticipated this calumny of Zwicker's? For in more than one passage he expressly teaches, that the Christian doctrine about the Logos, although like the Platonic, was certainly not derived from the Platonists; but that Plato rather derived whatever he wrote correctly about the Word of God, from the Church of God, to which that doctrine was of old partially known. Thus in the first Apology, after acknowledging, "that the doctrines of Plato are not repugnant to Christ's (*ὅτι οὐκ ἀλλότριά ἐστὶ τὰ Πλάτωνος διδάγματα τοῦ Χριστοῦ*), he presently adds^k; "Whatever, therefore, has been well said among any people, is the property of us Christians; for the Word of¹ the unbegotten and ineffable God we worship and love next after God, forasmuch as He also became man for our sake, in order that having been made a partaker of our affections also, He might likewise effect their cure. For all writers, by the germ² of the implanted Word which is in them, were able dimly³ to see the things that are; for the seed of anything, and the copy of it which, so far as is possible, is given to us, is one thing; and the thing itself, of which the participation and imitation accrues to us according to the grace which is from Him, is another." Here you will observe this also in passing, that Justin does not maintain what he has stated concerning the Logos, as his own private sentiment, but as the doctrine and belief that was common to all true Christians. He speaks, however, still more clearly on this subject in Apol. ii.¹ addressed to Antoninus, near the end; where after saying, that even Plato had learnt "that the whole world was made by the Word of God" (*λόγῳ Θεοῦ γεγεννησθαι τὸν πάντα κόσμον*); nay more, that the Third Person of the Godhead, the Holy Spirit, was not entirely unknown to Plato, he subjoins; "We therefore do not hold the same opinions with others, but they all express our views, copying

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^k ὅσα οὖν παρὰ πᾶσι καλῶς εἰρηται, ἡμῶν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐστὶ. τὸν γὰρ ἀπὸ ἀγεννήτου καὶ ἀρρήτου Θεοῦ λόγον μετὰ τὸν Θεὸν προσκυνούμεν, καὶ ἀγαπῶμεν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς ἄνθρωπος γέγονεν, ὅπως καὶ τῶν παθῶν τῶν ἡμετέρων συμμετοχος γενόμενος καὶ ἴασιν ποιήσεται. οἱ γὰρ συγγραφεῖς πάντες, διὰ τῆς ἐνού-

σης ἐμφύτου τοῦ λόγου σπορᾶς, ἀμυδρῶς ἐδύναντο ὁρᾶν τὰ ὕψα· ἕτερον γὰρ ἐστὶ σπέρμα τινὸς καὶ μίμημα κατὰ δύναμιν δοθέν, καὶ ἕτερον αὐτὸ, οὐ κατὰ χάριν τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνου· ἢ μετουσίᾳ καὶ μίμησις γίνεται.—P. 51. [Apol. ii. 13. p. 97.]

¹ οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ οὖν ἡμεῖς ἄλλοις δοξάζομεν, ἀλλ' οἱ πάντες τὰ ἡμέτερα μιμού-

from us. With us, then, you may hear and learn these things from men who do not know even the forms of letters, illiterate indeed and barbarians in speech, but wise and full of faith in understanding, and some of them even maimed and blind; so that you may understand that it is not by human wisdom that these things are brought about, but that they are spoken through the power of God." Surely this single passage of Justin is enough to overthrow utterly that entire mass of conjectures, (however large it be,) which Zwicker heaped up against manifest truth. For Justin here plainly teaches, 1. That the opinion of the universe having been created by the Word had not been borrowed, either by himself or any other Christian, from the writings of Plato; but that Plato rather took his own doctrines about the Logos from the sacred books of the Christians (of the Old Testament, that is, as Justin shortly before in the same passage explains his meaning). 2. This same opinion he asserts and maintains before the emperor and before the nations, not as his own peculiar opinion, but as the belief and doctrine of the Catholic Church,—in other words, of all true Christians. Nay, he even shews, that the sacred mysteries of the Trinity were so commonly and so well known among Christians, that even uneducated and ignorant men, who knew not their alphabet, could discourse of them in a more divine and a clearer manner than could Plato himself. 3. From this he most justly concludes, that Christians had been taught that doctrine "not by human wisdom" (*οὐ σοφίᾳ ἀνθρωπείᾳ*), (not from the writings of the Platonists, much less from the wild dreams of the worst of heretics), but put it forth "by the power of God" (*δυνάμει Θεοῦ*), (that is, out of the divinely-inspired Scriptures, and the apostolic teaching everywhere disseminated in the Church). Surely from such testimony it is abundantly clear, that St. Justin entertained the same opinion of the heathen philosophy in general, as Tertullian, and (according to the testimony of Tertullian) as all the ancient Catholic Christians did. Precious¹ indeed are his words, in his Prescription¹ aurea.

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μενοι λέγουσι. παρ' ἡμῖν οὖν ἐστὶ ταῦτα ἀκοῦσαι καὶ μαθεῖν παρὰ τῶν οὐδὲ τοὺς χαρακτήρας τῶν στοιχείων ἐπισταμένων, ἰδιωτῶν μὲν καὶ βαρβάρων τὸ φθέγμα, σοφῶν δὲ καὶ πιστῶν τὸν νοῦν ὄντων, καὶ

πρῶν καὶ χήρων τινῶν τὰς ὕψεις ὡς συνεῖναι, οὐ σοφίᾳ ἀνθρωπείᾳ ταῦτα γεγενῆναι, ἀλλὰ δυνάμει Θεοῦ λέγεσθαι.—
Pp. 92, 93. [§ 59. p. 78.]

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¹ contesta-
tur.

against Heretics, chap. 7, 8^m; "He" (Paul) "takes us to record¹, that we ought to beware of philosophy, when he writes to the Colossians", 'Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men,' &c. He had been at Athens, and by his conferences there had come to know that human wisdom, which affected to be the truth, and interpolated the truth, itself too divided into manifold heresies of its own by the variety of its mutually repugnant sects. What connexion, then, is there between Athens and Jerusalem? What between the Academy and Church? What between heretics and Christians? Our instruction is from the porch of Solomon, who himself also taught that the Lord must be sought in simplicity of heart. Let them see to it, who have propounded a Stoical, and a Platonic, and a Dialectic Christianity. After Jesus Christ we need no curious investigation, after the Gospel no inquiries. When we believe, we feel no longing to believe anything beyond. For the first thing we believe is this, that there is nothing else beyond that we ought to believe."

[318] 6. After this, it is unnecessary for us to carry on the controversy, about which some learned men contend; as to whether Plato's view about the Logos resembled the doctrine of Justin and others, who agree in opinion with him? He who wishes may consult on this point Casaubon's Exercitationes on the Apparatus of Baronius, p. 5, and Peter Lanse- lius's Examination of Casaubon's Calumnies, chap. 1.^o This is certain, that there is so wide a difference between the opinions of Plato and Justin, that that alone makes it sufficiently evident that Justin did not take his views from Plato. Accordingly, Justin himself, in the passage already quoted,

^m Philosophiam contestatur caveri oportere, scribens ad Colossenses, *Videte ne quis vos circumveniat per philosophiam et inanem seductionem, secundum traditionem hominum*, &c. . . . Fuerat Athenis, et istam sapientiam humanam, affectatricem et interpolatricem veritatis, de congressibus nove- rat, ipsam quoque in suas hæreses multipartitam varietate sectarum in- vicem repugnantium. Quid ergo Athe- nis et Hierosolymis? quid academiæ et ecclesiæ? quid hæreticis et Chris- tianis? nostra institutio de porticu

Salomonis est, qui et ipse tradiderat, Dominum in simplicitate cordis esse quærendum. Viderint qui Stoicum, et Platonium, et dialecticum Chris- tianismum protulerunt. Nobis curio- sitate opus non est post Christum Jesum, nec inquisitione post evange- lium. Cum credimus, nihil desidera- mus ultra credere. Hoc enim prius credimus, non esse quod ultra credere debeamus.—[pp. 204, 205.]

^a Col. ii. 8.

^o This treatise is appended to the Works of Justin, edit. Par. 1636.

expressly reminded us that Plato saw that mystery but dimly (*ἀμυδρῶς*) and obscurely.

7. Therefore, (to finish this chapter,) Zwicker judged, that Justin's doctrine about the Logos was derived from the school of Plato, with just the same probability as Amelius the Platonic philosopher, after reading the first verses of John's Gospel, once complained that the Evangelist had transferred into his book his master's mysteries, and had made the secrets of Plato his own. "By Jove," he exclaimed, "that barbarian agrees in opinion with our Plato, that the Word of God is constituted in the order of the beginning." And indeed among the modern Unitarians of England, there has not been wanting one, who has been bold enough to maintain, in no obscure terms, that the doctrine of the Apostle John, at the beginning of his Gospel, was originally drawn from the puddles of the Platonic philosophers. I refer to the author of a tract entitled, "*An Historical Vindication of the Book entitled the Naked Gospel*, presented to the University of Oxford ^p." In his Preface to the Reader he bitterly inveighs against those "who defiled the simple and primitive chastity of the Gospel with the ceremonies and the vain philosophy of the pagans," and "imposed upon the world Platonic enthusiasm for faith, mystery, and revelation," &c. No one, however dull of perception, can fail to see that the trifler here aims a blow at the doctrine of the most holy Trinity, as acknowledged and received in the Catholic Church. In the course of his work, moreover, the author attempts to shew, how that vain philosophy, that enthusiasm of Plato, crept first into the Jewish, and then into the Christian Church. He says ^q, that the Jews who were dispersed throughout Egypt and Syria first learnt Plato's philosophy after it had been carried from Greece to those countries; that there were two leading doctrines of the Platonic philosophy, one concerning the pre-existence of souls, the other about a divine Trinity; which two dogmas, accordingly, were afterwards prevalent in the Jewish Church. In the following page you may read his own precise words ^r; "The Jews were of these

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^p [*The Naked Gospel* was published anonymously at Oxford in 1690, in English, the author being Arthur Bury, D.D. The *Historical Vindication* was either written by Le Clerc, or trans-

lated by him (into his *Life of Eusebius*). See the *Life of Bull*, p. 319.—B.]

^q Pp. 12, 13.

^r P. 14.

opinions when our Saviour and His Apostles came into the world; and this perhaps is the reason why we find accordingly, as it has been observed by several learned men, several Platonic phrases in the New Testament, especially in the Gospel of St. John. It is well known that Amelius the Platonic philosopher, having read the beginning of this Gospel, remarked that the Apostle spake like Plato. In effect, this philosopher might have said, according to his principles, 'The Reason was in the beginning with God, and was God:'. She it is who hath made all things, who is the Life and Light of men," &c. From a comparison of these passages it is only too clear, that this author was really of opinion, that the doctrine delivered by the Apostle John at the beginning of his Gospel was by no means divinely inspired, but was borrowed from the empty philosophy of the heathen, and savoured altogether of the enthusiasm of Plato. Well, indeed, may we here again exclaim, in the words of the blessed Polycarp, "Good God, for what times hast Thou reserved us, that we should have to endure such things!" But this author betrays his ignorance, no less than his impiety, by saying, that the ancient Jews of the dispersion learnt the mystery of the Holy Trinity from the Platonists; because it is, on the contrary, manifest that Plato himself learned what he wrote about that mystery from the older philosophy of the Jews. At all events, as Justin Martyr has observed, one may see some traces of that mystery in the Scriptures of the Old Testament which are far more ancient than Plato. If, however, any one of our countrymen desires to go further into this subject, he may consult the lucid treatise, written in English, by the very learned Allix, entitled, "The Judgment of the Ancient Jewish Church against the Unitarians."

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CHAPTER VI.

THAT JUSTIN ABHORRED WITH ALL HIS HEART THE PAGAN RELIGION AND THE WORSHIP OF MANY GODS. THAT THE ARGUMENT WITH WHICH JUSTIN AND OTHER ANCIENT WRITERS ESTABLISHED THE DIVINITY OF CHRIST, DERIVED FROM THE TRULY DIVINE WORSHIP WHICH IS ALLOWED HIM IN THE HOLY SCRIPTURES, IS QUITE INVINCIBLE.

1. THE three remaining causes which Zwicker has invented can be reduced to two; so that the remembrance of Gentilism, that is, of many gods, not wholly obliterated, and the custom of deifying distinguished men, may together form one cause (for certainly the latter is a part of the unobliterated remembrance of Gentilism); while "the scrupulous dread of worshipping one who was only a man," may make the other. [321] With respect to the former cause, I cannot but feel surprised at the extreme shamelessness of Zwicker, who devised it, or at least his very gross ignorance of the writings of Justin Martyr. Read, I entreat you, the holy father's Exhortation to the Greeks, his two Apologies, and his treatise On the Monarchy of God. With how many and how powerful arguments does he there assail the polytheism of the heathen! Besides, who would suppose that an illustrious doctor of the Christian faith was not most fully instructed in that elementary doctrine of the Gospel, of the unity of God, which even the most ignorant catechumen well knew; or that one, who was a most resolute champion and martyr for Christ against the pagan superstitions and impieties, was still so foully sticking in the mire of heathenism itself?

2. But with respect to that second cause, (which was the last of what the mad brain of the heretic could devise,) it should be observed, that it is diametrically opposed to the former. For certainly it is utterly impossible for any one not to be averse to the custom of deifying men, and yet at the same

time to feel a horror and a scrupulous objection to worshipping one who is a mere man; for the two things are perfectly incompatible. Having remarked this by the way, we will consider that cause by itself. And here indeed we will allow to Zwicker, that Justin and other fathers were led to ascribe a divine nature to Christ, by this argument among others, that in the Holy Scriptures divine worship and adoration are often and in express terms commanded to be paid to Him. But what will the heretic gain by this concession? Surely nothing; for that reason certainly affords a sufficiently firm foundation for this doctrine. For both reason dictates, and holy Scripture by many most explicit testimonies demonstrates, that the worship and adoration which truly belong to God, ought not to be paid to any mere creature, however exalted, but to Him alone, who is very God. And here I beseech you, my Christian reader, to forgive me, if I am rather lengthy in defending this reasoning of the fathers, both that I may fulfil the promise which I made above^a, and particularly, because, if this ground be well considered, it strikes at the very heart of the Socinian heresy.

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3. In the first place, then, we have the express commandment of God Himself, as given in Deut. vi. 13 and x. 20, and repeated by our Saviour in Matt. iv. 10, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve;" where the exclusive particle *only* confines divine worship to our Lord and God, and entirely removes from participation in it every created being whatsoever. The Socinians object^b, "that by such exclusive particles as *only*, when applied to God, those beings are never absolutely excluded, who are dependent on God, in the particular subject in question. Thus God is said to be the only wise, the only powerful, the only immortal; but yet other beings, who by the gift of God are made partakers of those qualities, ought not to be absolutely excluded from possessing wisdom, power, and immortality. Therefore again, although it is said that God alone is to be adored and worshipped, He who in this particular depends on God, because of the divine government over all things received from Him, ought not to be absolutely

^a Chap. i. 4. [p. 247.]^b See Schlictingius On the Trinity,

&c. in opposition to Meisner's Article on God, pp. 206, 207.

excluded, but should rather be tacitly included along with Him." But, 1. Who gave to these audacious persons the liberty of making exceptions, where the law of God makes none? The law simply commands that divine adoration should be given to God alone. As to their pretence, that in the Scriptures God is also said to be the only wise, &c., and yet that others ought not to be absolutely excluded from wisdom, &c., who have been made partakers of such qualities, &c.; it is indeed sophistry. For although, when God is said in the Scriptures to be the only wise, others are yet not thereby excluded from all wisdom whatsoever, which is compatible with their nature; it is still certain, that by the exclusive particle "only" in those passages every created being is absolutely excluded from divine wisdom, that is, the wisdom which belongs to God. In like manner, when God is said in Scripture to be the only object of worship, the only object of honour, others are not on that account excluded from such worship and honour as may correspond to their nature and condition; still all other beings are simply and absolutely excluded from divine worship, I mean that which belongs to God. 2. This answer supposes, that the divine government over all things can be communicated to a mere creature; which is certainly most false. For of course by "the divine government over all things," all men of sound mind understand that almighty power by which God preserves all created beings, to whom He has given being, in that being, and rules and governs them; as well as that right and dominion of God, following therefrom, whereby every creature is subject to Him, and every rational creature is bound in his measure ¹ modulo, to submit himself with all his faculties to God, and to give himself up to be employed to His glory and the increase of his own happiness. At least no other divine government but such as this can be an adequate foundation for divine worship. And that such divine government over all things cannot belong to any creature, is clear from the nature of the case. If therefore divine worship should be given to none but to Him, to whom the divine government over all things is conceded, (a proposition which is certainly most true,) it will necessarily follow, that to God alone must divine worship be paid, as is expressly provided in the law which we have quoted. [324]

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¹ modulo.

4. In the second place, Paul objects it against the Galatians as a sin, that, "when they knew not God, they did service to them which by nature are no gods" (τοῖς μὴ φύσει οὐσι Θεοῖς). Gal. iv. 8. From this passage it is manifest that divine worship is not to be given to any being but Him to whom a divine nature also belongs. For surely it cannot be that, what was an extreme fault in the Galatians, while they were yet continuing in paganism, should be lawful for us who have the privilege of gospel light; much less that it should become a primary duty of a Christian man. The answer of Crellius on this passage is most ridiculous; for, in his Christian Ethics, iii. 2^c, he thus writes; "It is also evident from this why Paul makes this a sin in the Galatians, although now a past one,—that afore time, when they knew not God, 'they did service to them who by nature are no gods,'—because there existed no one before, nor, so long as they were ignorant of the true God, was any one known to the Galatians, who was true God, that was not at the same time also by nature God; and, consequently, whosoever at that period worshipped (especially, absolutely, and continuously,) one who was not God by nature, worshipped a false God." Who can believe that this thought entered the mind of Paul, while he was writing those words? Besides, the idea of there being a true God, who is not also by nature God, will (notwithstanding the loud objections of the Socinians) certainly be deemed incomprehensible by every sound-minded person.

[325] 5. But that is an especially remarkable passage in Rev. xix. 10, where the angel thus addresses John, who had fallen at his feet to worship him; "See thou do it not; I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren, that have the testimony of Jesus; worship God." The angel here rejects for two reasons the worship which John had offered him. 1. That he was his fellow-servant (σύνδουλος). As much as to say, Whoever is the servant of God is not an object of divine worship; but I am myself a servant of God, as well as thou, although placed in a higher grade; therefore it is not on any account permitted thee to offer me divine worship. This reason, surely, extends equally to every creature; since there is no creature, how eminent soever be the position of honour in which he is

placed, who is not a servant of God quite as much as other creatures. If therefore Christ were a mere creature, it would not be lawful to pay divine worship to Him. I am aware that Grotius thought that the worship which the angel refused when offered by John, was of that kind which they call "civil," and which we read was sometimes paid to the prophets without sin; and that therefore the angel did not prohibit that worship, as being unlawful in itself, but as being unworthy of the apostolic office, which John was at that time discharging. For thus does that very learned man write, in his Exposition of the Decalogue, on the Second Commandment; "Though He forbids gifts and libations, He does not forbid tokens of reverence, &c. For the angel's putting from him such honour offered to himself, in the Apocalypse, does not proceed from there being anything unlawful in it, but the angel puts the apostle on an equality with himself; both being servants of Christ, who is now the Head of angels (see Col. i. 16, 18); and the office of an apostle, provided for the salvation of man, being in no respect inferior to that of an angel; and colleagues are not accustomed to use towards each other these signs of submission." But in both parts of his opinion this great man was mistaken¹. For it was not the civil adoration merely, which the angel refused, as is clear enough from the angel's own words, "Worship God" (τῷ Θεῷ προσκύνησον), and especially, "See thou do it not," which forbid not only what is unbecoming, but what is unlawful, and ought to be altogether avoided. But the learned writer seems here to have been in error, in not having accurately enough distinguished between John's prostration, and that worship which the apostle, when prostrate, was on the point of offering. Yet the words are clear enough; "I fell at his feet to worship him" (ἔπεσον ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ προσκυνῆσαι αὐτῷ). Where it is manifest that, in what John did, the object is especially noted on account of which the act itself was censurable; for to fall to the earth, and at an angel's feet, was not faulty in itself; since it is certain that such honour was often aforetime paid by holy men, without sin, even to human beings, as kings and prophets. But the apostle is blamed for having prostrated himself at the angel's feet with the intention of worshipping him, *i. e.* of paying him divine

CHAP. VI.
§ 4, 5.

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¹ hallucinatus est.

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¹ *Θυσίαν
αἰνέσεως.*

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² *aliquid
vulgarius.*

honour (perhaps by offering him “a sacrifice of thanksgiving”¹ for the most joyous tidings of the marriage of the Lamb). Therefore the angel does not so much censure what John had already done, as forbid what he meant to do, ὅρα μή, “See thou do it not.” Nor is there more truth [in Grotius’s other assertion], that the angel prohibited the worship of John, simply in consideration of his being at that moment invested with the office of the apostleship: since it is evident from a parallel passage, (Rev. xxii. 9,) that the angel’s prohibition is to be extended to all Christians universally. In that passage the angel thus speaks; “See thou do it not; for I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren the prophets, *and of them which keep the sayings of this book* (καὶ τῶν τηρούντων τοὺς λόγους τοῦ βιβλίου τούτου): worship God,” where mention is made not only of the prophets, but of all other pious men or Christians, who are described in the words, “and of them which keep the sayings of this book.” A description which is broader and more general than the word “prophets,” and therefore is placed after that word, as being more common². And thus even Crellius explains the passage, in his *Christian Ethics*, iii. 6^d. Grotius, however, in this place, in opposition to the Greek MSS., and even to very obvious reason, has omitted the particle καὶ, “and,” with what view I cannot tell, except it be to serve his own hypothesis. Thus much then on the angel’s first reason. 2. The second is intimated in the words, “Worship God” (τῷ Θεῷ προσκύνησον), which seem to be taken from the divine command, adduced by our Saviour, in Matt. iv. 10. Now it is plain, that the words must be understood in what they call the exclusive sense, as if the angel had said: “That worship, which thou art on the point of offering to me, God only is entitled to; see therefore that thou give it not to me.” Otherwise, every one must see that there is no force at all in the angel’s reason. These passages, therefore, (to which I could have added many others,) incontestably prove, (what Zwicker would have Justin to have laid down as the foundation of his opinion concerning the Son’s divine nature,) that to none except to God only ought truly divine worship to be paid.

6. The arguments which the Socinians allege to the con-

trary are of no weight. They object, in the first place, that holy men under the Old Testament offered divine honours, and that without incurring sin, to angels, who treated with them in God's name. We have, however, already, in our Defence of the Nicene Creed^o, fully demonstrated, that, as often as any angel is in holy Scripture designated יְהוָה, JEHOVAH, and has divine honours paid to him, the fathers were of opinion, that then not a mere angel was to be understood, but one with whom the Logos was present; and that this opinion of theirs is not only not repugnant to any Scripture, but actually confirmed by the express testimony of Paul himself. I add, that this opinion of the fathers acquires no little strength from those passages which we have treated of, and which attribute divine worship in a peculiar sense¹ to the true God. Lastly, it especially makes in favour of the same opinion, that under the Gospel we never read anywhere that any, who was called an angel, was regarded as worthy of such honour, except by John when carried away by sudden feeling, whom, however, the angel himself reproved, for the very reason, that he was about to offer to him a worship too great for the dignity of an angel, and due to none but God. [328]

CHAP. VI.
§ 5—7.

¹ appropriate.

7. The reason of this some very learned theologians have inquired into, and among them Ribeira, who, in his Commentary on the Apocalypse, on chap. xix., thus writes; "Why is it, that before the Redeemer's advent angels are worshipped by men, and speak not [in reproof]; but afterwards they refuse adoration;—why, but because, after they behold this nature of ours, which they had formerly looked down on, taken up above themselves, they shudder to see it prostrate before themselves; and no longer presume to look down on that [nature] below them as weak, which above them (namely, in the King of heaven) they revere^f?" And this reasoning of Ribera's^g is accepted by Crellius himself, Ethic. Chr. iii. 6^h. But for my own part, I regard this reasoning as subtle rather than solid,—induced chiefly

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^o I. i.

^f [These are not the words of Ribeira himself, but of Gregory, whom he quotes by name, in Hom. viii. on the Gospels. (i.e. Pope Gregory I. In Evang. lib. i. Hom. 8. vol. i. p. 1463.

ed. 1705.)—B.]

^g [i.e. Gregory's. For Crellius was not unaware of the real author of this argument.—B.]

^h P. 292.

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by the consideration, that not a single vestige can be discovered of such a reason in the passage of the Apocalypse which Ribeiro is explaining. On the contrary, the angel there puts from him the worship which John was about to offer him, on grounds which are of perpetual force and truth, and which equally belong to the times of the Old and the New Testament. The angel first urges, that he is a fellow-servant of the faithful; might not the same have been said of angels under the Old Testament? Certainly it might. For David even at that period says, respecting the angels, "Who maketh His angels spirits, and His ministers a flaming fire," Psalm civ. 4; with which compare Heb. i. 7 and last. Even under the Old Testament, therefore, angels no less than men were ministers of the Most High God, although occupying a more exalted position of ministration, in which they have continued even since the Lord's coming; this is evident from many passages of the New Testament, which shew plainly enough, that an eminent degree of honour and reverence is due to them above any mortal beings; see particularly 1 Cor. xi. 10; 1 Tim. v. 21. But the second reason of the angel, expressed in the words, "Worship God," how evidently does this extend to the Old Testament also! Indeed, (as has been already observed,) it seems to be taken from the very words of the Mosaic law. I will state the whole subject in a few words; when we inquire concerning the worship of angels, we mean, either civil worship¹ only, or else religious and altogether divine worship. The former kind is even now, under the Gospel, due to the angels, owing to their great superiority to man and the eminence of their power; the latter, it was not allowable, even under the Old Testament, to offer to angels, because of their infinite distance from the Most High God. Hence we read, even in the Old Testament, that the angel who appeared to Manoah, with great earnestness declined divine worship,—namely, sacrifice. For when Manoah was about to detain the angel, that he might set a kid before him, the angel says to him in reply, "Though thou detain me, I will not eat of thy bread; and if thou wilt offer a burnt offering, thou must offer it unto the Lord." As much as to say, There is a two-fold purpose in offering food; either that it may

¹ cultus
civilis.

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be eaten after the manner of men, or else that it be accepted of God¹, and consumed. On the first ground, it is not needful to offer it to me; on the second, it is not lawful; for know, that sacrifice must be offered to God only. Judges xiii. 16.

CHAP. VI.
§ 7—9.

¹ Deo acceptus.

8. What then, you will ask, must be said, in reply to the proposed difficulty? The solution of it, indeed, is not far off, if only we do not refuse to abide by the judgment of the fathers. For they explain it thus: Under the Old Testament, the Word² and Son of God, the Angel of the Covenant, frequently conversed with mankind, either through angels, or at least through angelic representations, *i.e.* such as are usually assumed by angels; and further, was worshipped with divine honours, and that most justly, by the holy men to whom He appeared. These apparitions, however, as they were preludes, so to speak, and shadows and figures of the future incarnation of the Son of God, justly ceased after His advent in real human flesh; for when the truth was manifested, what need was there of shadows? Certainly this reason, assigned by the fathers, appears to me to be far preferable to all the conjectures of the moderns.

² Λόγος.

9. But to dismiss, at last, all conjectures; it is certain,—and, indeed, allowed by our opponents themselves,—that truly divine worship, such as is commanded in the Scriptures to be given to the Lord Jesus, ought by no means to be offered to angels, nor was ever presented to them by holy men under the Old Testament. And, accordingly, the heretics freely acknowledge, that the adoration which of old was paid to angels, (granting that they were angels,) was paid to them on a very different principle from that on which it is yielded to Jesus Christ in the Scriptures of the New Testament. For they recognise here a threefold difference. 1st. The patriarchs adored the angel, when present, and revealing himself to their sight, by prostrating themselves before him; but to Christ we are commanded to pay this honour, when not visible, but (so far as regards His human nature) very far removed from us, being even in heaven itself; and it is this which chiefly, though not solely, distinguishes divine worship from human. The words we are

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¹ per se.
² per acci-
dens.

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here using are almost the very words of Crellius¹. 2dly. He, who anciently worshipped an angel, as representing God, worshipped God Himself really and absolutely¹, and the angel only accidentally²; nor then was it really the person of the angel himself, as such, that was worshipped, but that of God Himself, whose person he sustained and whom he represented^k. Indeed, the person of the angel was no more worshipped than was the ark of the covenant, when holy men, [worshipping] towards it, as the token of the divine presence, adored God Himself. On the contrary, the Lord Jesus is set forth in Scripture as being, in Himself, an object of worship. A truth which is so plain, that even Socinus¹ himself allows, that Christ is worthy of divine honour, and that it is not without the weightiest causes that the worship of Him is prescribed in holy writ; which the Scriptures themselves also expressly teach; Rev. v. 12. 3dly. An angel of this kind was worshipped only during the time that he appeared on earth, in the name of God, and as the representative of His person; when the representative character was laid aside, divine worship was no longer due to him; whilst, on the contrary, the Lord Jesus must be worshipped by us perpetually. This perpetuity, indeed, is restricted by Crellius to the duration of the world; for thus he writes in a certain passage^m; "Christ's divine authority has this pre-eminence, that it is eternal, as the angel says in Luke i. 33, and is to have no end; that is to say, SO LONG AS He shall be able to possess a kingdom over the house of Jacob, and this present state of things shall last; and it will last as long as the world shall endure, and as long as death, the last enemy of Christ, shall remain to be destroyed. For this reason the Son is to be honoured by all, even as the Father. John v. 23," &c. Crellius had in view the passage in 1 Cor. xv. 28, where Paul teaches, that after the last enemy, death, has been vanquished, the Son will be subject to the Father, and will deliver up the kingdom to the Father Himself. But, in my opinion, Peter Martyr, in his "Common Placesⁿ," has most excellently reconciled this passage with those which attribute an absolute

¹ See Ethic. Christ. iii. 6, p. 294.

^k See Crell. *ibid.* p. 277.

¹ De Adorat. Chr. Disp. cum Chri-

stoph. Frank. p. 6.

^m Ethic. Christ. iii. 6, p. 275.

ⁿ Class. ii. 17, n. 14.

eternity to the kingdom of Christ. "*To reign*," he says, "sometimes has the meaning to excel, to be pre-eminent above others, and to occupy the chief place; and in this sense Christ will reign for ever. But if we say that to reign means to discharge the duties of a king—to fight, to defend, to conquer, and other things of that kind—then Christ will not reign for ever; for when we shall have become perfect and complete, we shall not require these aids of Christ. When He came into the world, He preached, taught, died for our salvation; and now He intercedes for us with the Father, defends us from threatening evils, and never ceases from the duties and actions of a Mediator. In the end, however, when all things are settled, He will resign these offices to the Father, since there will then be no longer room for them. Just as if a most powerful sovereign were to send his only son to some province of his kingdom, which is suffering under seditions, tumults, and rebellion, and that son were to go forth with supreme authority and a strong army; when he has brought all to peace, and reduced the rebellious to submission, he returns victorious to his father, triumphs, and delivers to him the province in a peaceful condition, no longer employing his authority, or using his legions," &c. And certainly, that Christ, after He has delivered up that His mediatorial kingdom to the Father, will not afterwards be deprived of His own divine honour, authority, dignity, and worship; but along with God the Father will be adored by all the saints, and even by the angels and archangels, for ever and ever, we learn from many testimonies of Scripture. See especially, Rom. ix. 5; Heb. xiii. 21; 1 Pet. iv. 11, and v. 11; with 2 Pet. iii. 18; Rev. i. 5, 6, and v. 12, 13.

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10. Let the heretics, therefore, cease to seek a sanction for their falling cause from the instance of those angels, who under the Old Testament, while representing God, were partakers of divine worship; for that instance, even on their own admission, makes nothing whatever for their purpose; inasmuch as, from the threefold difference which was just now assigned, so many arguments can be derived, which incontestably prove the Son's divinity. From the first we argue as follows;—

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¹ assumptionem.

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Any who, being in heaven, can and ought to be adored by men on earth, is God. But Christ is in heaven, &c. Therefore, &c. Our opponents allow the minor premiss¹; and the truth of the major is evident. For whosoever is worshipped in this manner, either is conscious that he is an object of worship, or is not conscious of it; if he is not conscious, he is worshipped in vain; if he is conscious, he must be omniscient and omnipresent, and must therefore be God. It will be said, this conclusion does not follow; for he may know it by divine revelation. But, I maintain, that is quite impossible. For such knowledge quite transcends the capacity of a created intelligence; and therefore no creature can have it either of itself, or from another. As an illustration of this point, let us take as an instance divine worship in its noblest part, viz. divine invocation, which it is most clear from the Scriptures is due to Christ. See Acts ii. 21; vii. 59; ix. 11, 14; xxii. 16; Rom. x. 13; 1 Cor. i. 2; 1 Thess. iii. 11, 12, 13; and 2 Thess. ii. 16, 17. It is surely impossible that the human soul, with whatever degree of divine light it may be illuminated, should at one and the same time know and be conscious of the vows and prayers, which are every day at the same moment poured forth to the name of Jesus, by so many myriads of men, in so many places, at such vast distances. The mind of Christ [as] man, now exalted to the right hand of the Father, is, it is true, perfected in a wonderful manner; still it is not infinite, with a power of intelligence capable of reaching to all places, and all persons, who at the same moment in both the hemispheres are calling on His holy name, (at the same time seeing through the most hidden recesses of the hearts of those who call upon Him.) For it is the eye of God alone which has power, at a single glance as it were, to survey and penetrate the entire world. Wherefore the Socinians, who have recourse to this miserable subterfuge² to support the divine invocation of Christ as a mere man, expose themselves to the ridicule of all wise men, whilst they themselves ridicule that dream of the Papists, by which the invocation of saints is usually defended, the mirror of the Trinity (according to which the blessed behold in the essence of God, as in a glass, whatever happens and is done on earth, so that to them are known the

² misero
hoc κρησ-
φυγέτω.

inmost thoughts¹ of our souls). For if to the soul of Christ, [being] man, an omniscience of this kind has been communicated by divine revelation, no sufficiently valid reason can be assigned, why in the same manner the souls of the saints should not be capable of partaking, and in their measure really partake, of this [omniscience]. Impregnable therefore, and for ever, (in spite of the malignant gainsaying² of heretics,) will the argument of Novatian for the Son's divinity continue, in his work on the Trinity, chap. 14; "If Christ were man only, how is He everywhere present when invoked; seeing that the power of being everywhere present is the nature not of man, but of God?" &c.

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¹ sensus.

² frenden-
tibus.
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11. This argument it is certain was a very great difficulty to Socinus, who, apprehending from it the ruin of his own view, respecting the mere humanity of Christ, was driven so far as to assert confidently, that no one is bound by a divine precept to call on the name of Jesus Christ in his prayers. For he writes to the following effect in his third Epistle to Radecius^o; "Here you first confound adoration with invocation; which however ought not to be done, as the ground of each is in some measure different; so that, although I have not the least doubt that there is a command about adoring Christ, and that, even were there not, we are yet altogether bound to adore Him, yet I do not entertain the same opinion about invoking him; seeing that invocation is taken to mean an actual imploring of help, and a direction of our prayers [to Him]. For on this point I lay down, that this indeed may rightly be done by us, I mean, we may rightly direct our prayers to Christ Himself, and supplicate help of Him by name, but yet that there is nothing which compels us to do so." Again, in his Answer to Francis David^p, he says; "We *may* invoke Christ our Lord, although we are not obliged or bound to do so." But in his Discussion with Frankenius^a he breathes forth blasphemy still more daring; "But if any one is endued with so great faith, as to have courage always to approach directly to God Himself, he has no need to invoke Christ." Such are his words. But, 1. if Radecius confounds adoration with invocation, it is yet certain

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^o [P. 388. vol. i. Op. 1656.]

^p [C. 19. partic. i. vol. ii. p. 457.]

^a Pag. 4, [vol. ii. p. 767.]

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that Socinus makes too subtle a distinction between them ; for it is allowed by all, that invocation is that in which worship, or adoration truly divine, especially consists, and that for this reason it is frequently taken in Scripture for the whole of divine worship. And indeed I am at a loss even to conjecture what worship truly divine that man concedes to Christ, who takes away from Him invocation. 2. That assertion ; “ We *may* invoke Christ our Lord, although we are not bound to do so ;” seems to me incomprehensible. For I ask, is there any precept in the Scriptures about invoking Christ, or not ? If there is, then it becomes our duty ; in other words, we are bound to invoke Christ. But if no precept of this kind is to be met with in holy writ, surely we cannot without sin invoke Christ ; unless indeed divine invocation (the chiefest part of worship really divine) be dependent on our own choice, to offer it to whomsoever we please. It will be said, Although we are not commanded in the sacred writings to invoke Christ, yet there are intimations found in Scripture which clearly shew Christ to be a very fit ¹ object for divine invocation, and accordingly one whom we might properly call upon. But what, I ask, are these intimations ? You will perhaps answer, It is plain from the Scriptures, that Christ both entertains the greatest goodwill towards us, and also is omniscient, that is to say, is thoroughly aware of all our necessities, both of soul and body ; nay more, is the most close searcher of our hearts, and of the inmost hidden feelings of our souls, so that He perceives with what affection each one calls upon Him, Rev. ii. 23 ; and lastly, that He is almighty, in that He is able to deliver us from all the evils and dangers which hang over us, be they never so great, and to make us partakers of all the blessings which we need, Phil. iii. 21. I answer ; These qualities are certainly required in order to any one’s being a proper object of divine invocation. But, 1. these attributes prove, that the divine nature exists in Him to whom they belong ; since they could not be incident to a mere man, or indeed any created nature. So that the hypothesis of Socinus, that Christ is a mere man, falls to the ground, even by this concession, that Christ is a fit object of invocation really divine. 2. Our argument will still hold

¹ satis
idoneum.

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good. For I ask, whether these perfections of Christ, which

the Scriptures set forth, and by which He is made to be a fit object of divine invocation, are of such a kind as to give Christ a right to that worship? If my question be answered in the affirmative, it will necessarily follow, that Christ not merely may be, but also ought to be invoked by us; for surely we ought to give to every one, and to Christ especially, his due. If, on the other hand, my question be answered in the negative, it will follow that we *may* not lawfully invoke Christ; forasmuch as we cannot without sin give divine worship (particularly invocation) to any one to whom it is not properly due. So utterly inconsistent is the assertion, "We *may* invoke Christ our Lord, although we are not bound to do so." This inconsistency was observed even by Niemojevius, who, although in other respects an admirer of Socinus, makes the following observations, well worthy of our notice, on the words which we have just quoted from Socinus's Answer to Francis David^r. "I have carefully read," says he, "your reply to the arguments of Francis David, wherein you assert, and, in opposition to the calumnies of F. David, defend, the invocation of Christ our Lord and the honour due to His holy name. But you appear to me to have used a few words, that not only obscure your excellent view, but even render it doubtful, and confirm your opponents in their error. If you ask, what it is which can do so much harm; I briefly answer; The words which you often repeat, 'We *may* invoke Christ our Lord, although we are not bound or obliged to do so,' &c. threaten ruin to the cause you have in hand. I cannot see how it is possible to reconcile, 'we are not bound, but we may;' as if in the business of our salvation we were at liberty to do or to refrain from doing anything, just as it appeared to ourselves to be rather necessary, or the contrary."

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12. But, in fine, why need we enlarge on this? It is manifest from holy writ, that we are bound by a divine command to ascribe the worship of divine invocation to Christ our Lord. This is evident even from the fact, that all Christians are presumed in the holy Scriptures, to call on Christ our Lord by virtue of their religion. On this account they are in the New Testament described by this circumlocution, "who call on the name of Jesus," Acts ix. 14; 1 Cor. i. 2.

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^r Niemojev. Epist. i. to Faustus Socinus. [Among the Works of Socinus, vol. ii. p. 465.]

Moreover, by the divine command, we are bound to give the same worship and honour to the Son, which we ascribe to God the Father, John v. 23. But no one denies that to God the Father the worship of divine invocation is to be given. Lastly, the invocation of Jesus Christ is prescribed to us in the Gospel as a condition absolutely necessary to the attainment of salvation, Rom. x. 13 ; “ Whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved.” And that by the title of “ the Lord,” Christ is here meant, is plain from the context. For, 1. the Lord, of the calling upon whom Paul is speaking, is manifestly the same who is proposed by him as the object of Christian faith, in vv. 9—12, that is, the Lord Jesus. 2. The Apostle teaches, that all, under peril of salvation, must invoke the same Lord, in whom many of the Jews did not believe, and of whom they could plead that they had not heard, (v. 14,) which every one must see can only be understood of the Lord Jesus. Now, that the calling on this Lord is not only commanded, but actually required of all men, as a necessary condition of obtaining eternal salvation, is made clearer than the noon-day light by the words themselves which we have quoted. It is almost equally clear, that the words, “ to call on the name of the Lord,” in this passage, mean either exactly the same as to implore the help of the Lord, in other words, to direct our prayers unto Him, or at any rate include that under them. For the calling on the name of God has in all a twofold sense in the Scriptures : 1. Generally, for the whole of divine worship ; examples of which meaning occur in Gen. xii. 8, and xiii. 4, and xxi. 33 ; and Psalm xiv. 4, and liii. 4 ; and Isaiah xli. 25. Now this signification (as Crellius here observes not inaptly ^a) seems to have arisen from the circumstance, that invocation is the most frequent among the various parts of religion, and for that reason is more prominent than the rest ; since necessity itself usually impels us to invoke Him, whom we esteem and worship as God, and to implore His assistance ; so that the man cannot be considered to regard any being as his God, whom he does not call upon. 2. In a stricter sense, it is taken for prayer, or supplication to God ; which word again is taken sometimes in a wider, sometimes in a more limited

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^a Eth. Chr. iii. 11.

sense. In the wider signification, when it includes thanksgiving also ; of which you have examples in Luke xviii. 10, 11 ; Acts iii. 1, and xvi. 13 ; Philippians i. 3, 4 ; which arises from this, that thanksgiving is almost always joined with prayer, properly so called, and *vice versa*. It is taken in its more limited and its proper sense, when it is taken for the asking for some good, or supplication for divine aid. The first sense of this word seems to me the most natural in this passage. But whichsoever of the two you choose, our argument from the passage in question will be sound. But, O blessed Jesus ! for what times hast Thou reserved us, that we must endure so horrible a blasphemy against Thy most sacred name ! Who can hear this without tears,—specially from those who vaunt themselves as the worshippers of Thy Majesty,—that no one is bound to seek from Thee by his prayers Thy grace and divine assistance ?

13. Into the same abyss of madness, urged by the same necessity, Volkelius and Schlietling have fallen after Socinus ; the former in his treatise *On True Religion*, iv. 11, Concerning the invocation of Christ, and the latter against Meisner, pp. 206 and 207. Nay, even Crellius himself, who is always prating much about the divine invocation of Jesus Christ, yet occasionally comes into the opinion of Socinus, or at any rate does not go far from it. For in his *Christian Ethics*, iii. 11, p. 398, treating of extremes in respect to prayer, on the side of deficiency, he particularly notices those “ who are not willing to address their prayers to Him, and who even do not address them to Him when necessary, to whom they not only might, but sometimes, at least for some definite reasons, actually ought to address them ; ” subjoining as an instance, “ as if any one refuses to invoke Christ, when the rest of the faithful direct their prayers to Him, or when otherwise edification requires it, or the Spirit Himself suggests and dictates it to any one.” Observe ; it is admitted by the heretic, that we *may* indeed address prayers to Christ, but that we are not absolutely bound to do so, but only in some specified cases ; as when others do it, that we may not cause a needless separation from them ; or if edification requires it, that is, when there is danger that, by our refusing to invoke Christ, weak brethren should suspect us (and not indeed

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without cause) of denying a divine worship to Christ; or, lastly, when the Spirit dictates, that is to say, when we are led to it by the motion of our own fancy, or as often as we are pleased to do so. But why, I ask, must a Christian wait for a dictate of the Spirit before he ventures to address prayers to Christ? Because, forsooth, there is great danger lest perchance he should pour forth into the air unprofitable and empty prayers; seeing that it is altogether uncertain, at what time the man Christ is conscious of our prayer, or when by divine revelation he may be informed of the supplications which we have addressed to Him: and therefore, in a case so extremely doubtful as this is, we must by all means employ the Spirit for our teacher. Eternal God! how profound a mystery of iniquity is the doctrine of Socinus!

¹ per se.

14. I have dwelt the longer on explaining this first distinction, because I thought it would not be without its use to a reader that is unacquainted with the heretical arts and frauds with which we have to do. I now come to the second distinction which Crellius has observed, with the intention of deriving therefrom a second argument in defence of the Son's Divinity. Whoever is to be worshipped directly¹ with divine honour, and so is worthy to be adored with divine worship, must needs be true God, that is, by nature God. But Christ is to be worshipped directly with divine honour, as Scripture expressly affirms, and as our opponents themselves allow. Therefore Christ is true God. The opposition here also is capable of most easy proof. No one, I mean, can be worthy of divine worship, who is not endued with divine, that is, infinite dignity and excellence; (for this divine excellence is the one only foundation of truly divine worship;) but divine and infinite dignity and excellence belongs to God alone, and cannot be incident to any created being; (for the finite cannot contain the infinite;) therefore, &c. How irrefragable this argument is, is clear enough from the discussion between Faustus Socinus and Christian Frankenius, concerning the honour due to Christ, where you will find that most luckless heretic driven to wonderful straits by almost this very syllogism, and fairly checkmated by his adversary. This Christian Frankenius was one of the disciples of Socinus, who, as well as he, asserted that Christ was a mere man,

though he pushed that dogma of his master further than the latter meant; for from it he concluded (and that by necessary consequence), that a religious or divine worship ought by no means to be paid to Christ. The controversy on this subject, between him and Socinus, was held on March 14, in the year 1584, in the palace of Christopher Paulicovius. The primary argument of Frankenius was as follows^t; "As great as is the distance between the Creator and the creature, so great should be the difference between the honour which is paid to the Creator and that which is given to the creature; but between the Creator and the creature there is the greatest difference, whether you regard His nature and essence, or His dignity and excellence; therefore there ought to be also the greatest difference between the honour of God and that of the creature. The honour, however, which is pre-eminently due to God, is religious adoration; therefore this ought not to be given to the creature, and consequently not to Christ, for Him you confess to be a mere created being." Now, what says Socinus to this argument? His answer is as follows^u; "Although there is the greatest distance between God and the creature, it yet does not follow that there is so great a difference between the honour of God and that of the creature; for God is able to communicate His honour to whom He will, especially to Christ, who is worthy of such honour, and whom, not without the weightiest reasons, we are commanded in the holy Scriptures to adore." This surely is a ridiculous answer, and clearly is open to the charge of begging the whole question¹. For this was the very question between Socinus and his opponent; whether divine worship can be communicated to Christ, if He be a mere creature? Frankenius proves, that it cannot by this argument—that between God and the creature, and accordingly between the honour due to the one and that due to the other, there cannot but be an infinite distance. Besides, God cannot communicate divine worship to any one to whom He does not also give divine nature and excellence (of which no creature is capable). Indeed such a thing would be manifestly repugnant both to the wisdom and the truth of God; to His wisdom, because

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¹ τοῦ ἐν
ἀρχῇ peti-
tione.

^t Disp. on Adorat. of Christ with Frank. p. 4. [vol. ii. p. 767.]

^u P. 6. [ibid.]

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God would thus confer an empty title without reality and foundation ; and to His truth, because God would then oblige His creature to a falsehood, that is to say, He would command him to ascribe divine dignity and excellence (for it is in this that adoration really divine properly consists) to a being in whom there neither is nor can be such an excellence. Lastly, how a mere creature can be worthy of divine worship, or what are those most weighty causes, for which it is commanded in the holy Scriptures that Christ, who [according to their view] is a mere man, is to be adored, none of the Socinians will ever be able to explain. Therefore Socinus^v had nothing to say to Frankenius, when the latter had amply proved, that divine worship was not communicable to any creature, but this, "I can give an answer to all those testimonies which you adduce." Upon which Frankenius says^x, "I too shall be able to give a satisfactory answer to all your passages, which inculcate the adoration of Christ." At length Socinus, vanquished indeed in argument, but wishing to exhibit an unvanquished spirit, says ; "I am as sure of the truth of my opinion, as I am certain that I hold this hat in my hands." Then Frankenius^y, smiling in ridicule, answers him again ; "This certainty of yours cannot be the rule of truth to me or to others ; for some one else will be found to say, that he is absolutely persuaded from holy Scripture of the truth of the opinion that is contradictory to yours." So utterly impossible is it, on the Socinian hypothesis, to maintain and defend the divine worship and honour of Jesus Christ.

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15. I come now to the third and last [of Crellius's] distinctions, and derive from it my third argument, as follows ; Whosoever along with God the Father is to be honoured with divine worship, *for ever and ever*, is by nature God equally with the Father ; but Christ is to be honoured with divine worship *for ever and ever* along with God the Father ; therefore Christ is God. We proved the minor of this argument before, by the clearest testimonies of Scripture, when we were treating of this third distinction ; and the truth of the major is plainly apparent, 1. from those passages of Scripture (and they are almost innumerable) in which the true God is distinguished from the creatures, by this form of expression,

^v P. 7. [ibid.]^x P. 8. [ibid.]^y P. 9. [ibid.]

that He is the only being to whom divine honour and glory is due for evermore. See Matth. vi. 13; Rom. i. 25, and xi. 36, and xvi. 27; Gal. i. 5; Eph. iii. 21; Phil. iv. 20; 1 Tim. i. 17; 2 Tim. iv. 18; Jude 25. 2. From this invincible reason; That there must necessarily be an eternal foundation for an eternal worship. Now this eternal foundation can be none other than this,—that He, who is to be thus worshipped, is by nature God; therefore, &c. The foundation of the divine worship, which is due to Jesus Christ, according to the heretics, is His mediatorial office. Now, if this were true, the plain and necessary consequence would be, that the divine worship of the Lord Jesus would at last come to an end; since the Scriptures expressly affirm, that His mediatorial kingdom will at length cease, when the last enemy, death, shall be conquered, that is, after the resurrection and the final judgment, 1 Cor. xv. 24 and following verses. Now, when the cause is taken away, the effect goes with it. Thus much then for the first objection of the heretics; let the impartial reader judge what they have gained from it for their cause.

16. But there is yet another argument of our opponents, on which they place the main defence of their heresy. They say, that the question respecting the foundation of that divine worship which is due to Jesus Christ, has been decided in their favour by the most positive statement of Scripture itself, which teaches both that the foundation of the divine worship, due to Jesus Christ, is His royal or judicial power; and also, that that power was conferred on Him by the Father, because, or so far as, He is man; and that both these points [as they allege] are manifest from two passages compared with each other, namely, John v. 22, 23, "For the Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son, that all men should honour the Son, even as they honour the Father;" and the 27th verse of the same chapter, "And" (the Father) "hath given Him authority to execute judgment also, because He is the Son of man." To these two passages they add a third, Philipp. ii. 6 and following verses, wherein the Apostle expressly teaches, that God had given to the man Christ, who, after and because of His death, was exalted

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unto the highest, a name which is above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, &c. But, how utterly valueless these passages of Scripture are to the cause of the heretics (although they fill every other page of their writings, and are repeated by them until they are hoarse), will become very evident, after I have investigated their true and genuine meaning.

17. And first, with respect to St. John, v. 27, (on which depends the interpretation of verses 22, 23, of the same chapter,) there are, and were of old, various opinions of learned men about its meaning. In the first place, Chrysostom² does not approve of the commonly received punctuation of the text¹, and considers that it is not altogether sense; since Christ did not receive His judicial power because He was a man; for if He had received it on that ground, the same power must have been to be given to all men. He would, therefore, have the passage be punctuated thus; “And He hath given Him authority to execute judgment also:” so that this clause should terminate with a colon; and then should follow, “Because He is the Son of man, marvel not at this; for the hour is coming,” &c.; and that the sense should be as follows; “Let not what I have said of the power of giving eternal life, and of the power of judgment, appear incredible unto you, because you see me to be a man, for I am also the Son of God; as hereafter will be manifest to you by the resurrection from the dead, which I shall accomplish.” This punctuation of Chrysostom’s has been approved, among the ancients, by Cyril and Theophylact, and, among the moderns, by the very learned F. Junius. Nor indeed should it be hastily rejected; for the Syriac translator, whose authority has always (and that justly) been great among the learned, punctuated the clauses of the passage just in the same way, interpreting the text thus; “And He hath given Him authority to execute judgment also. But, do not marvel at it, on account of His being the Son of man,” &c.

18. In the second place, other commentators, retaining the common punctuation, suppose that our Lord in these words had in view the passage of Daniel vii. 13, 14, where

²—[Hom. xxxix. 3. vol. viii. p. 230.]

the prophet predicts, that power and a kingdom will be given to the Son of man by the Ancient of days; as if he had said, "Because He is Son of man, of whom Daniel prophesied, it should come to pass, that to Him would be given the dominion and kingdom over all nations for ever." Thus did Cameron interpret the passage, and he seems to be followed in part by Grotius. But this exposition is discounted by the want of the article (as Erasmus observed) in the Greek, which runs, *ὅτι υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐστίν*, and not, *ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐστίν*: as it certainly ought to have been, if the words are to be understood of the Son of man, emphatically so called.

19. In the third place, the great mass of theologians explain this passage of the incarnation and humiliation¹ of the Son, thus; The Father gave Christ His judicial power, because, for the salvation of mankind, He vouchsafed to become the Son of man, that is, man; and, although He was God, to take upon Himself human life, and expose it to death for man's salvation. Wherefore by that so great humiliation of Himself, by which He was willing to become man, and to die for men, He merited this great exaltation to judicial power, in order that He, who was the Saviour of all, might be the Judge of all. According to this exposition, (which at any rate is highly probable,) Christ by this expression describes that emptying of Himself (*κένωσιν*), which is spoken of in Philipp. ii. 7, where the Apostle exhorts the faithful to humble-mindedness, by an argument drawn from the example of Christ, who being in the form of God (that is, being God), and so equal to God the Father in respect of His nature, yet did not arrogate to Himself that equality with God, did not carry Himself as God, did not make a shew of it openly, being alien from ostentation and pomp; but, of His own accord, lowered and humbled Himself, taking on Him the form of a servant, and being made man, &c.; and therefore to Him has been given by His Father a name which is above every name, &c.; exactly as it is said in the passage of John, that the authority of judging is given to the Son, because He is the Son of man.

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20. Lastly, Augustine and Bede so interpret the passage, as that the meaning is; that the Father had transferred the

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nam.

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authority of judging the quick and the dead to the Son, "because He is the Son of man," that is, because He bore a character¹ that was suited to discharge the office of a judge. This interpretation is confidently declared to be the true one by the very learned Maldonatus, who also gives the same exposition himself, on the 22d verse of the same chapter, only in this fuller form; "Now the Father is said to judge no man, not that He really does not judge; for whatsoever one Person does *extra Seipsam*, as theologians define, all the Persons do together; but, because He does not judge by assuming the character of a judge, such as can be seen by mankind whom he judges; can address them, and pass sentence upon them verbally, in short, [because] He does not judge in external ceremony and in judicial form, He is said to judge no one. And in this sense the Son alone judges, because He alone is man, such as it is fitting he should be who judges men^a. Therefore it is alleged as a reason why the Father has committed all judgment to the Son, that 'He is Son of man.' " You see, how variously this passage may be explained; now whichever of these interpretations you choose, it is manifest that it will not contribute any support to the cause of the heretics. To say the truth, the text is too obscure, and has somewhat too much of ambiguity, to warrant our concluding anything certain from it.

21. With respect to the passage alleged from the Epistle to the Philippians, it is not true (as the heretics assume), that it declares, that the Father gave divine authority over men to Christ considered as a mere man, after His death. The very words of the passage teach the contrary, shewing as they do, that He had existed in the form of God, and so was equal to God, before He took upon Him the form of a servant, that is, before He became man; and therefore because for man's salvation He endured to be made man, and to shew Himself obedient to God the Father even to the death upon the cross, [on this account] He obtained the

^a "The Father made His Word to become visible to all flesh, being also incarnate, that He might become manifest to all as their King. For it was right that those that judgment is passed upon should see their judge, and know Him by whom they

are judged."—"Pater . . . Verbum suum visibile effecit omni fieri carni, incarnatum et ipsum, ut in omnibus manifestus fieret Rex eorum. Etenim ea quæ judicantur, oportebat videre judicem, et scire hunc a quo judicantur."—Irenæus, iii. 9. [§ 1. p. 184.]

highest exaltation in the heavens, and also a name, which is above every name. The certain truth of this answer depends upon our interpretation of the words ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων ("being in the form of God"), and μορφήν δούλου λαβὼν ("having taken the form of a servant"), and how true and natural it is, will be readily perceived by any one, who will impartially and attentively consider the words of St. Paul. [349]

For in this passage the Apostle evidently teaches two things; 1. That our Saviour subsisted and was in the form of God, before He assumed the form of a servant: nothing can be clearer than this. For in this passage the Apostle notices, and proposes as an example, the wonderful condescension of our Saviour, in that, "being in the form of God" (ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων), He emptied [and humbled] Himself, by taking "the form of a servant" (μορφήν δούλου). Now all condescension necessarily supposes a more exalted state *preceding*, from which the descent is made to the inferior condition.

2. That Christ took the form of a servant at the time when He became man. This is very plain from these words of the Apostle; ἐαυτὸν ἐκένωσε, μορφήν δούλου λαβὼν, ἐν ὁμοιωμάτι ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος ("He emptied Himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men"); which the old Latin translator thus correctly rendered; "Seipsum exinanivit, formam servi accipiens, in similitudine hominum factus;" here there is a continuous exposition, in which each later clause of the sentence is subjoined to the former immediately, without the intervention of any copulative conjunction, and explains it. If you ask, How did Christ empty [or humble] Himself? the Apostle answers, By "taking the form of a servant." If again you ask, How did Christ take the form of a servant? the answer follows at once, By "being made in the likeness of men;" *i. e.* by becoming man like to us men, sin excepted. Now from this it is certainly made out¹, that our Saviour subsisted, ¹ efficitur. and that in the form of God, before He assumed human nature, and therein the form of a servant. That this may appear still more clearly, two things must especially be noticed. 1. It is to be observed, that the "form of a servant," in this passage, by no means signifies a servile condition of human life, as opposed to the state and circumstances of a

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man that is free and his own master, as the heretics contend, and as some Catholics have inconsiderately granted. For "the form of a servant" is here plainly opposed to the "form of God." Now, as compared with God, every created being has the form of a servant, and is strictly bound in obedience to God. Accordingly the Apostle, after saying that our Saviour took the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men, goes on to add, "having been made obedient" (*γενόμενος ὑπήκοος*), that is, to God the Father. This is intimated in another place by the same Apostle, in Gal. iv. 4, where, after stating, that God the Father in the fulness of time sent forth His Son made of a woman, he immediately adds, *γενόμενον ὑπὸ νόμον* ("made under the law"). Therefore our Lord then assumed the form of a servant, when He took upon Himself created, that is, human nature, and in that nature became obedient to God the Father. 2. We must remark the elegant gradation in the Apostle's words as he describes the humiliation of Christ, which is kept entire by the Catholic interpretation, but is obscured, nay wholly destroyed, by the explanation of the heretics. Christ, says the Apostle, emptied [or humbled] Himself, taking the form of a servant. But this might have been said of Him, if He had assumed the nature of angels, since the angels themselves are God's servants and ministers. Therefore the Apostle subjoins, "made in the likeness of men," and accordingly a little lower than the angels. Heb. ii. 9, compared with ver. 16. It then follows, "and being found in fashion as a man, He [emptied or] humbled Himself, and became obedient," &c. Not only did He, though He was God, take human nature on Himself, but even in that nature humbled and lowered Himself exceedingly¹, becoming in all things obedient to the Father, even unto death, and that the death of the cross—a bloody, shameful and ignominious death. But in order the more fully to understand the Apostle's words, which describe the state in which the Son of God existed before His humiliation, we must repeat our former observation —that the form of God, and the form of a servant, or the likeness of men, are opposed to each other. As therefore Christ was made in the likeness of men, so as Himself to be very man; so also is He in the form of God, in such a sense

¹ vehementer.

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as Himself to be very God. Moreover, from this very opposition between the form of God, and the form of a servant, it may be certainly concluded in opposition to the Arians, that the nature, in which the Son of God subsisted previous to His incarnation, was not created. The Son of God indeed then at length took the form of a servant, when He assumed a created nature, being made in the likeness of men: before that He in nowise existed in the form of a servant, but subsisted in the form of God. But according to the Arians, who regarded the Son of God as a creature, that¹ Son was always, even¹ *ille*. before His incarnation, in the form of a servant; since every created being, even the most exalted, as I said just now, when compared with God, has the form of a servant, and is strictly bound to the service and obedience of God. From this then it follows, that the Son of God, with respect to that more excellent nature, in which He subsisted before his incarnation, is equal to God His Father; as is also manifestly taught by the Apostle in the words that follow. The reader should by all means see what we have adduced in elucidation of this passage from the primitive fathers, Hermas, Clement of Rome, and Justin Martyr, in our Defence of the Nicene Creed, ii. chap. 2. § 2, and chap. 3. § 4, and chap. 4. § 7. From all this indeed it is at length clear, how altogether in vain and to the ruin of their cause the Socinians have appealed to this passage of the Apostle.

22. But it may here be asked, how from our hypothesis, which assumes that the Son is God of God, and so a partaker of the same glory with God the Father before the foundation of the world, it can be understood, that the divine government was at length delivered up to Him after His passion and resurrection? I reply, it can be understood in three ways. 1st. In this manner, that the Son of God having finished the work of human redemption on earth, acquired for Himself a divine power over men, and therefore a divine honour to be paid to Him by men by a new and real title; even the title of Saviour and Redeemer. This subject is admirably explained by our learned Jackson, in his Commentaries on the Creed, in these words^b; “God the Father had remained as glorious as

CHAP. VI.
§ 21, 22.

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^b Commentaries on the Creed, book xi. chap. ii. 4. [Works, Oxford edition, vol. x. pp. 17, 18.]

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¹ halluci-
natus est.

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now He is, although He had never created the world. For the creation gave much, even all they had, to things created; it gave nothing to God, who was in being infinite; yet if God had created nothing, the attribute of Creator could have had no real ground; it had been no real attribute. In like manner, suppose the Son of God had never condescended to take our nature upon Him, He had remained as glorious in His nature and person as now He is; yet not glorified for or by this title or attribute of 'incarnation.' Or suppose He had not humbled Himself unto death, by taking the form of a servant upon Him," (in this one particular indeed the learned author was in error¹, in referring 'the form of a servant' to the lowest degree of Christ's humiliation,) "He had remained as glorious in His nature and person, and in the attribute of incarnation, as now He is; but without these glorious attributes of being OUR LORD and REDEEMER, and of being the Fountain of grace and salvation unto us. All these are real attributes, and suppose a real ground or foundation; and that was, His humbling Himself unto the death of the cross. Nor are these attributes only real, but more glorious, both in respect of God the Father, who was pleased to give His only Son for us, and in respect of God the Son, who was pleased to pay our ransom by His humiliation, than the attribute of creation is. The Son of God then, not the SON OF DAVID only, hath been exalted since His death to be our Lord, by a new and real title, by the title of REDEMPTION and SALVATION."

23. This no doubt is what the Apostle meant to intimate in the passage just cited from the Epistle to the Philippians, where he teaches, that Christ (who as Son of God, before He became man, was in the form of God and equal to God the Father) was after death so exalted by God the Father, that all men are now bound of right to confess that He is Lord, (see verse 11,) in respect, that is, of a new title, in that He has redeemed the human race by His own precious blood, so ² sui juris, that they are now not their own², but His servants, as bought with a price. Compare 1 Cor. vi. 20, and vii. 22, 23, with 1 Pet. i. 19, but especially Rom. xiv. 8, 9. And the merit of this title is in the Apocalypse expressed in glorious terms, and that in more passages than one. In chap. v. 9, the four beasts and four-and-twenty elders sing this new song to the Lamb of

God ; “Thou art worthy to take the book, and to open the seals thereof ; for Thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by Thy blood out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation.” Then in verse 12, the chorus of angels sings ; “Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honour, and glory, and blessing.” Here divine honour is given to the Son on the ground of redemption ; evidently in the same way as it is ascribed in chap. iv. 11 to God the Father on the ground of creation ; “Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory and honour and power ; for Thou hast created all things, and for Thy pleasure they are, and were created.” God the Father is glorified for the work of creation, not as if the Son was not also to be glorified for the same reason, through whom all things were made, John i. 3 ; Col. i. 16 ; but because the Father is the fountain of Godhead, from whom the Son received both His nature and divine operations. God the Son is glorified for the work of human redemption, not indeed as if God the Father was not also to be glorified on the same account ; (inasmuch as it was He who, out of His boundless mercy to the human race, sent His Son into the world for man’s salvation, John iii. 16 ;) but because the Son alone took human nature upon Him, and in that nature became obedient unto death, so that the work of human redemption is ascribed in the Scriptures to the Son as if it were peculiarly His.

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24. Now from the fact, that the Son acquired through His humiliation, by a just title and most merited right, divine authority over men and [divine] honour, we may derive (as I would observe in passing) a sure argument for His divinity in the following way :

Whosoever has acquired a just title to divine authority over men, and divine honours [from them], must necessarily be God ;

But the Son has acquired divine authority over men by a just title and most perfect right, &c. ;

Therefore, &c.

The minor premiss is acknowledged by the heretics ; nor have we to thank them for their concession, since it is most clearly proved from the passages of Scripture just now

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quoted, which shew that divine authority and honour are justly due to the Son as our Redeemer no less than to the Father as our Creator. And as regards the major, no one of sound judgment can doubt its truth. For it is certain and confessed even by our opponents, that no created being can deserve, of con-dignity, that eternal glory and happiness, whereof even the saints shall in the next world become partakers. How much more absurd, and not only so, but dreadful even to say, that one who is a mere man can deserve divine honours and obtain the very throne of God!

Imagine with Socinus, that Christ was nothing more than man; how would you find such distinguished merit in His obedience, [in that] when He was man, He was seen as one among ordinary men, and underwent death, and that, God so willing it, the death of the cross? What illustrious thing did Christ do, which (if one is to believe ecclesiastical history) His Apostle Peter did not also do? Could He then, as man, have deserved by any suffering whatsoever of His own the crown even of saints? Certainly not. For of the sufferings of men universally the Apostle's statement is true, "For I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us." Rom. viii. 18. How much less then, supposing He had been merely man, could Christ by His suffering have merited divine honours for Himself! On the contrary, if with the Apostle Paul you conceive the Son of God as having EXISTED previously in the form of God, and so in respect of

41 His nature as equal to God the Father Himself, and afterwards as taking the form of a servant and being made man, and lastly in this our nature obeying God the Father even unto death, and that the death of the cross, then will His infinite condescension, and therefore His infinite merit, at once shine out most clearly. This however by the way. The first and principal cause for which a new divine authority, as it were, is in

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Scripture ascribed after His death to the Son of God, who before the foundation of the world was a partaker of divine nature and honour with God the Father, is the fact, that, after having accomplished the work of redemption, He acquired for Himself a new title to such power. See what we have written in our Defence of the Nicene Creed, ii. 3. 15. [p. 126.]

25. Secondly, this same [truth] may be understood of that new and illustrious manifestation of the glory and divine majesty of the Son of God, which after His resurrection and ascension into heaven was made throughout almost the whole world. While the Son lived on earth, He was found in fashion as a man, even a mere man, and exhibited nothing greater than [what belonged to] man, except that in His miracles some sparks of divine majesty occasionally gleamed forth through the cloud of human flesh. But after His ascension into heaven the glory of the Son was made illustrious in many wonderful ways—by the Holy Ghost, whom He poured forth upon the Apostles, by the stupendous miracles which the Apostles wrought in His name, by the promulgation of His Gospel throughout the world, they that believed in it being baptized not only in the name of the Father, but also in that of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. This revelation of the Son's divine majesty was the more illustrious, because not only during His sojourn among men in human flesh, but also during the ages that had passed before, His Godhead was either wholly unknown, or at any rate but dimly and obscurely apprehended. On this point Tertullian has well written in his treatise *Against Praxeas*, near the end^c; "God was pleased to give a new form of belief¹, in such wise as that through the Son and the Spirit He should in a new way² be believed to be One, that God might now be openly known in His own proper Names and Persons, who in times past³ was not understood, though preached by⁴ the Son and the Spirit." Justly, therefore, is it said that a new divine authority, as it were, was given to the Son after His resurrection, inasmuch as before that time His divine majesty and power was scarcely known to men, although as the Word of God, by whom all things were made, He exercised along with God the Father a divine authority over men from the creation of the world. [357]

CHAP. VI.
§ 24—26.

26. This is the very thing, unless my mind is wholly in the dark, which the inspired author of the Epistle to the Hebrews meant in chap. i. 1, 2, 3; "God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in times past unto the

^c Sic Deus voluit novare sacramentum, ut nove unus crederetur per Filium et Spiritum, ut coram jam Deus in suis propriis nominibus et personis

cognosceretur, qui et retro per Filium et Spiritum prædicatus non intelligebatur.—[c. ult.]

¹ novare sacramentum.
² nove.
³ retro.
⁴ per.

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fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by His Son, whom He hath appointed heir of all things, by whom also He made the worlds; who being the brightness of His glory, and the express image of His person, and upholding all things by the word of His power, when He had by Himself purged our sins, sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high." In these words the sacred writer expresses, not obscurely, both the new manifestation, and the new title of the Son's divine authority; the new manifestation in verse 2, where he shews that the Son at length in the last times had manifested Himself in the flesh, and, after completing the work of man's redemption in that flesh, had been appointed heir and Lord of all by a decree promulgated of the Father; not, however, that His authority took its beginning from that time, since it is He, by whom God created the very world, and who, (as immediately follows,) together with God the Father, has since the creation of the world administered all things by His own divine providence. Thus does Ignatius also speak concerning the Son of God, in his Epistle to the Magnesians^d; "Who was with the Father before the worlds, and in the end became manifest." To the same effect after Ignatius, Justin in his Epistle to Diognetus^e; "This is He who was from the beginning, but was revealed afresh;" and, "This is He who was always, to-day accounted a Son." In another passage, the same Justin says^f; "Saying that His generation then took place to men from the time that the knowledge of Him was about to be divulged." But the new title is declared by the inspired author in verse 3, where he teaches, that the Son of God, although He was the brightness of His glory and the express image of the Father's essence, [although also it is] He who administers all things by His most powerful Word¹, yet by Himself effected the purging of our sins, that is, by assuming our flesh in which He died for us; and, when that purging was accomplished, ascended the throne of the Divine Majesty in the Highest, as having merited that seat by the justest title. But there

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¹ potentissimo suo Verbo.

^d ὅς πρὸ αἰώνων παρὰ Πατρὶ ἦν, καὶ ἐν τέλει ἐφάνη.—p. 33. [§ 6. p. 19.]

^e οὗτος ὁ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ὁ καινὸς φανεῖς. οὗτος ὁ ἀεὶ, σήμερον υἱὸς λογισθεῖς.

[§ 11. p. 240.]

^f τότε γένεσιν αὐτοῦ λέγων γίνεσθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐξούτου ἢ γνώσεως αὐτοῦ ἐμελλε γίνεσθαι.—Dial. cum Tryph. p. 316. [§ 88. p. 186.]

is a great emphasis in the words "having by Himself purged," &c. (*δι' ἑαυτοῦ καθαρισμὸν ἐποίησε*). For they intimate that the Son of God, the brightness of the Father's glory, &c., did not appoint any other to be the minister of this purging, but took to Himself human flesh into the unity of His divine Person, and in that flesh offered up Himself as a sacrifice for sins. With the same emphasis, in another passage, God, or the Lord, is said to have purchased the Church "with His own blood" (*διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος*), Acts xx. 28, where the very ancient Alexandrine MS. reads, *διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου*, which is still more emphatic. But the principal force of our interpretation lies in those words, *δι' οὗ καὶ τοὺς αἰῶνας ἐποίησε*, "by whom also He made the worlds;" which, as we have elsewhere fully and most clearly shewn², must certainly be understood of the creation of the world properly so called. This being laid down, it is clear from this passage, that the Son of God existed indeed before all worlds with God the Father, and that in the nature and glory of the Father; that afterwards the whole universe was created by Him, which thenceforth He ruled and governed by His own Almighty bidding and authority; that, notwithstanding, this divine authority of the Son in a certain sense¹ lay hidden until the last days of the Gospel, and was then at length revealed, when the Son having assumed man's nature, had humbled Himself even unto death for the salvation of men; and thus had acquired for Himself, as it were by a new and most righteous title, divine authority over men.

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¹ quasi.

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27. And indeed that economy of the divine Persons of the most holy Trinity appears to me an object of admiration; whereby each several Person has by a distinct title, as it were, bound the human race particularly to His own divine authority—that title having also a distinct revelation of each Person's authority corresponding to it. The Father we worship under the title of the Creator of this universe, who was known to men even from the very creation of the world; we worship the Son under the title of our Redeemer and Saviour, whose divine glory and authority was on this account only revealed after He had accomplished upon earth the salvation

² See Judg. Cath. Church, v. 8. [p. 99.]

and redemption of man. Lastly, we worship the Holy Spirit under the title of the Comforter, Enlightener, and Sanctifier, whose divine majesty accordingly shone forth more brightly after His descent upon the Apostles and first Christians, rendered so illustrious by the most abundant bestowal of gifts of every kind. For then indeed the Apostles, and that by Christ's command, baptized the nations in "the full and united Trinity," (to use Cyprian's expression^h), that is, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. This is the very thing which Tertullian meant, in his treatise On Baptism, chap. 11, where, in giving a reason why Christ did not baptize, he asksⁱ, "Into whom¹ should He baptize? Into repentance? To what purpose then had He a forerunner? Into the remission of sins, which He gave by a word? Into His own self? whom He concealed by His low estate². Into the Holy Ghost? who had not yet descended from the Father. [Into the Church? which the Apostles had not yet established.]" After this revelation, whereby the divine nature is known in Its distinct Persons, all to whom that revelation has been made are of right obliged, and by the divine precept are bound to pay the same divine worship and honour which they pay to the Father, to the Son also; whereas aforetime it was sufficient for the pious among the people of God to worship and adore one God, the Parent of all, without that distinct recognition of Persons. Hence those expressions, that by the Gospel it is required, "that all men should honour the Son even as they honour the Father," John v. 23; and again, "Whosoever denieth the Son, the same hath not the Father," 1 John ii. 23.

28. There remains the third mode in which a new divine authority, as it were, is in the Scriptures attributed to the Son of God, [who was] before the worlds God of God the Father. It is this; the Son of God after His resurrection was truly and properly exalted and elevated to the right hand of the Father, in that assumed nature of man, in which He humbled [or emptied] Himself, and in which He was

^h In plena et adunata Trinitate.— Epistle to Jubaianus on the Baptism of Heretics, [p. 135.]

ⁱ In quem tingeret? in poenitentiam? quo ergo illi præcursorem? in peccatorum remissionem, quam verbo

dabat? in semet ipsum; quem humilitate celabat? in Spiritum Sanctum, qui nondum a Patre descenderat? [in Ecclesiam? quam nondum apostoli struxerant,] &c. [p. 228.]

¹ quem.

² humilitate.

obedient to the Father, even to the death of the cross. Now whatever accrued to human nature, in His humiliation and in His exaltation alike, is in the Scriptures justly attributed to the Son of God also, by reason of the “supreme and most intimate communion of the same” (*ἄκρα καὶ ἀνυπερβλήτω κοινωνία*, as Origen^k expresses the hypostatic union) “with the divine Person of the Son of God.” Thus He, who was in the form of God, and equal to God, is said to have become obedient even to the death of the cross; He who is the brightness of the Father’s glory, and by whose almighty command and authority all things were administered, is said by Himself to have purged our sins; He who is “the Prince of life^l,” is said to have been slain, Acts iii. 15. He who is “the Lord of glory^m,” is said to have been crucified, 1 Cor. ii. 8. So on the other hand, God (that is, the Son) is said by Paul to be “received up into gloryⁿ,” 1 Tim. iii. 16; that is, in that flesh in which He was manifested¹. And to this the Saviour’s words, as it seems to me, are to be referred, in the prayer which He poured forth to the Father just before His death, John xvii. 4, 5; “I have glorified Thee on the earth: I have finished the work which Thou gavest Me to do. And now, O Father, glorify Thou Me with Thine own self with the glory which I had with Thee before the world was.” Christ asks, that is, that the glory which the divine nature had always had with the Father, even before the world was, might now be communicated to the human nature also, not only by raising it from the dead, and exalting it into heaven, but by setting it at the Father’s right hand, where the Divine Nature had ever been. In vain, however, do heretics attempt to take away the force of this passage, by interpreting it of the divine predestination, as their fathers did aforetime^o. For they cannot establish such an interpretation by any sufficiently apt example from the holy Scriptures. Their pretence that a similar mode of expression is found in 2 Tim. i. 9, where the Apostle speaking of believers says, “that grace was given to them before the world began,” is entirely without foundation. We will produce the very words of the whole pas-

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¹ ἐφανε-
ρώθη.

^k Contra Celsum, lib. vi. p. 309.
[c. 48. p. 670.]

ⁿ ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι ἐν δόξῃ.

^o See Novatian on the Trinity,
[c. 17.]

^l ὁ ἀρχηγὸς τῆς ζωῆς.

^m Κύριος τῆς δόξης.

sage^p; "Who hath saved us and called us with an holy calling, not according to our works, but according to His own purpose and grace, which was given us in Christ Jesus before the world began." How vast is the difference between this passage, and that of which we are treating! For in the first place, the Apostle does not simply say, *κατὰ χάριν δοθείσαν*, "according to the grace which was given;" but, *κατὰ πρόθεσιν καὶ χάριν δοθείσαν*, "according to the purpose and grace which was given." Which words either contain the figure hendiadys, as it is called; "purpose and grace" meaning "gracious purpose;" (as afterwards in the tenth verse, "life and immortality" mean "immortal life;") or at least they clearly bear the following sense: "According to the grace, which God purposed or decreed to give us, in Christ, before the world began." Then, secondly, Christ does not say, "the glory *Thou gavest Me* before the world was," but, "the glory which *I had* with Thee," &c. And one who cannot see a difference between these two statements, can see little indeed. For, (considering the certainty of that *purpose*, whereby God decreed, that in ages to come the faithful should have that grace in Christ,) that grace may be said to be even then given by God, although neither it nor they actually existed, to possess then what was being given to them. But "the verb 'have' has a possessive force, and signifies actual and present enjoyment," as has been rightly observed here, by the right reverend the Bishop of Ely^q, in his Vindication of Passages of Scripture against the Racovian Catechism, sect. xxiii. Lastly, in the words of Christ it is said, "The glory which I had *παρά σοι*, with Thee," that is, existing together with Thyself. And it cannot be doubted, that these words of Christ, "the glory which I had with Thee before the world was," have the same meaning with John's statement in the beginning of his Gospel, that "the Word was in the beginning with God" (*πρὸς Θεόν*), that is, with the Father. In what sense the human nature of Christ,

^p τοῦ σώσαντος ἡμᾶς καὶ καλέσαντος κλήσει ἁγία· οὐ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἰδίαν πρόθεσιν, καὶ χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσαν ἡμῖν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ πρὸ χρόνων αἰώνων.

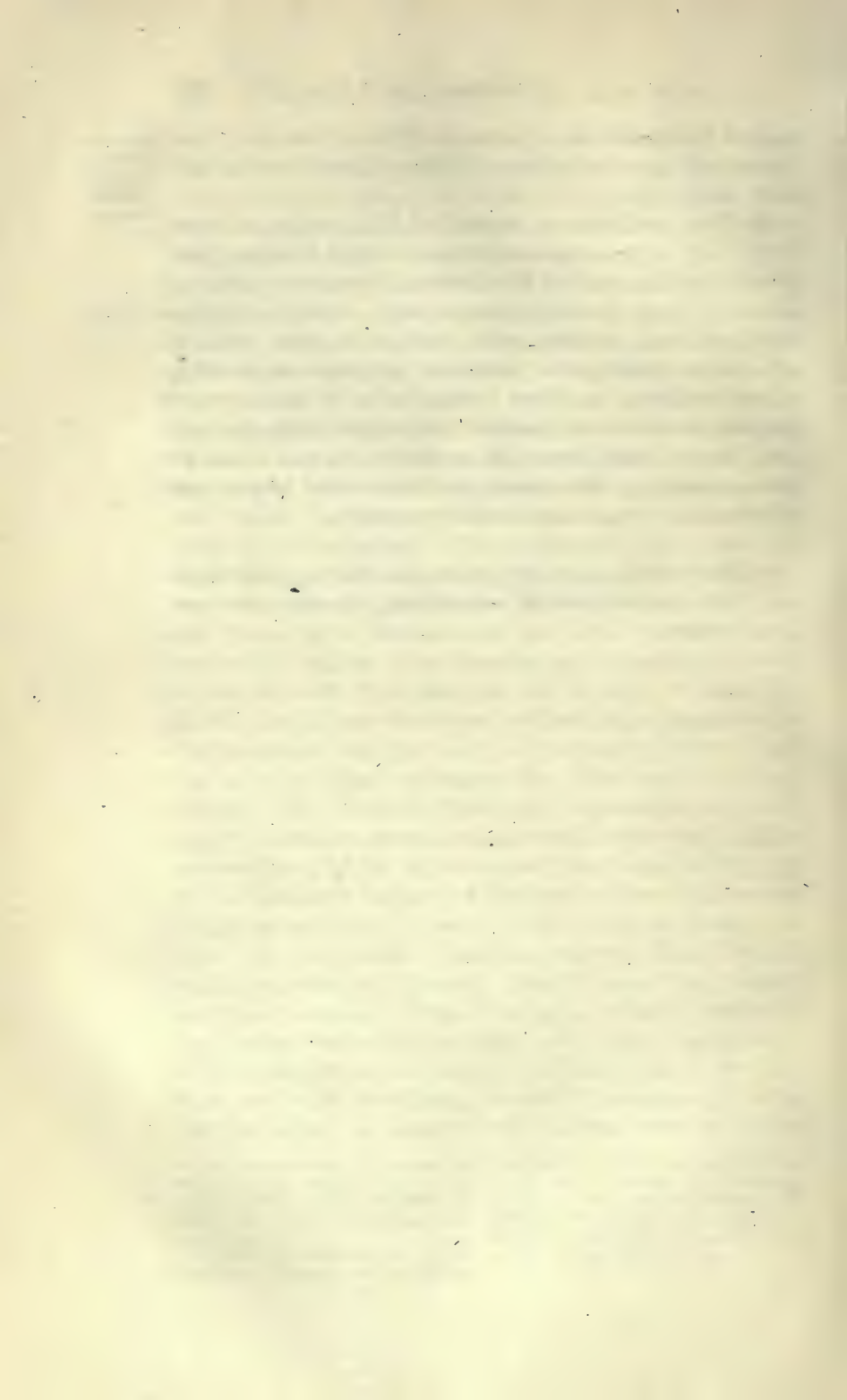
^q [The work referred to is the *Increpato Barjesu: sive polemicæ*

assertiones locorum aliquot S. Scripturæ, ab imposturis perversionum in Catechesi Racoviana, written by Matthew Wren, Bp. of Ely, and published by his son. Lect. xxii. § 3. p. 193. Lond. 1660.]

exalted in heaven, is a partaker of the divine glory and honour, we have shewn in our Defence of the Nicene Creed, CHAP VI.
§ 28, 29.
ii. 3. 15. [p. 126.] [363]

29. Thus far have we treated of the worship of Jesus Christ, and of the argument thence derived by Justin and other fathers in proof of His Godhead. From the whole of this, it is now, I think, clear enough, that the religious scruple of those excellent men, which made them dread to offer divine worship to a mere man, was not vain, childish, and superstitious, (as it was deemed to be by that arrogant despiser of the fathers, Zwicker,) but supported by the most just, nay the most invincible, reasons; such as he and his man-worshipping allies found it a much easier task to treat with contempt than ever effectually to refute.

*To the only God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost,
be ascribed worship and blessing, for ever and ever.
Amen.*



BRIEF ANIMADVERSIONS

ON

A TREATISE OF MR. GILBERT CLERKE,

ENTITLED

ANTENICENISMUS,

SO FAR AS IT UNDERTAKES TO GIVE A SHORT ANSWER

TO

DR. GEORGE BULL'S

DEFENCE OF THE NICENE CREED.

BRIEF ANIMADVERSIONS

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IN REPLY TO

A TREATISE BY GILBERT CLERKE.

ANIMADVERSIONS ON THE PREFACE.

IN his preface the author gives a summary of his views, briefly indeed, but yet clearly, and with an apt enough method which one vainly looks for in the treatise itself. At the beginning of the preface, after observing, "that all Trinitarians of whatever Church, whether Protestants or Papists, confidently assert, and wish to have it thought that they firmly believe, that all the fathers, from the very times of the Apostles downwards, are on their side in the article of the Trinity," goes on immediately to add, "The Unitarians alone, who think with Socinus, frankly acknowledge, (such is their openness and candour,) that the ancient writers do not entirely agree with them; and that therefore they have recourse to the holy Scriptures, as it were to a safe refuge. Not the less, however, do they boast (and this is all they can fairly do) that the doctors who lived within the first three centuries, held, that the Father alone, and no other, is that supreme God, above whom there is no other God; and that so far they were of the same opinion as themselves." My answer is, that the primitive doctors of the Church did always distinctively¹ call God the Father, as the Father, and as the head and fountain of the Godhead, the "supreme" or "most high" God, nay even "the one" God, as we have ourselves often observed in our former writings. But at the same time we also remarked, that the same fathers did notwithstanding uniformly acknowledge the true and complete² divinity of the Son of God. This has been most fully made clear in the

¹ διακριτικῶς.

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² solidam.

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Defence of the Nicene Creed, book iv.; "On the Subordination of the Son to the Father, as to His Origin and Principle;" in the first and second chapters of which, I have shewn at length that not only the Antenicene fathers, but all those likewise that lived after the Council of Nice, nay even the schoolmen themselves, acknowledged that subordination. What is to be said of the fact that, in the Nicene Creed itself, which was drawn up against the Arians, the same subordination is declared openly enough? For thus the Confession begins; "We believe in one God the Father Almighty," &c. But there also immediately follows, "and in one Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, God of God, Light of Light, Very God of Very God," &c. So that the author of *Antenicismus* betrays either his ignorance or his shamelessness, when he writes as follows, in his 78th page; "I saw that Dr. Bull in his fourth book on 'The Subordination' has given up a considerable part of the question to us;" for in that fourth book I have given up nothing which has not been always conceded by all Catholics; nothing which can at all further the cause either of the Socinians or even of the Arians. The first proposition of that book, upon which depend the propositions that follow it, is this; "That decree of the Council of Nice, in which it is laid down, that the Son of God is 'God of God' ($\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\ \Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\upsilon$), is confirmed by the voice of the Catholic doctors, both those who wrote before, and those who wrote after that Council. For they all with one accord taught, that the divine nature and perfections belong to the Father and Son, not collaterally or co-ordinately, but subordinately; that is to say, that the Son has indeed the same divine nature in common with the Father, but communicated by the Father; in such sense, that is, that the Father alone hath the divine nature from Himself, in other words, from no other; but the Son from the Father; consequently that the Father is the fountain, origin, and principle of the divinity, which is in the Son." Let Mr. Clerke and his friends allow, that the Son has the same divine nature in common with the Father, and we Catholics should have no further controversy with them.

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2. Immediately afterwards in his preface he adds; "Moreover, from Eusebius, v. 28, and from others, they learnt that

a great, if not the greatest, number of the bishops in the first two centuries taught that Christ, as to His essence, was man only; and during those centuries it was allowable to declare the simple truth in safety to the people who loved the simple truth, and without having those horrible charges of blasphemy fastened upon one, which the writers of a later age unblushingly poured forth, with wicked zeal, not to say dishonesty." This most silly fable of the Artemonites we have refuted and exploded at length in our preceding Treatise¹ against Daniel Zwicker, to which I refer the reader. § 1—3.

3. In the same preface again he had the effrontery to write; "They all with one accord deny, that there was any Son of God in existence before the worlds, much less begotten from everlasting; nay with one voice they all profess to wage an unceasing war against the primitive divines, even those prior to the Council of Nice, who took their opinions respecting the Son of God not out of the Scriptures, but out of their own head and from the school of Plato, and thrust it upon the people to believe, notwithstanding its inauspicious origin; for even at that early period the Church, decked out and furnished with philosophic teachers, under their unfortunate assistance, declined, as had been divinely predicted, from the simplicity of the faith. Justin Martyr, who was imbued with the Platonic philosophy, prides himself on that circumstance, and in his first and second Apologies contends that Plato had learnt from Moses, that the whole universe was created and formed by the Word of God. Those doctors indeed put on Christ in such a way as not to divest themselves of Plato." I request the intelligent reader to observe the man's effrontery and his remarkable shamelessness. He does not blush to profess openly, that he and his party wage war, and that an "unceasing"² one, not only against the Catholic Church³ jugiter. of the present day, but also against the primitive divines. He does not hesitate to attack³ those holy men, of whom³ proscinde. also the greatest part sealed their belief in Christ with their own blood, with the foulest reproaches, as if they had taken their opinion of the Son of God out of their own head, and the school of Plato, not out of the Scriptures, and had thrust it upon the people to believe notwithstanding its inauspicious origin. In other words, he makes those venerable persons to

¹ disputatione.

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be blasphemous innovators and sacrilegious corrupters of the Christian faith, and that too in its primary article. With respect however to what he says about Platonism, and its introduction into the Church by Justin Martyr, I have clearly shewn how groundless it is, in my Dissertation against Zwicker, to which reference has been already made.

[371] 4. After some intervening matter the author of the *Antenicismus* thus proceeds; "But it was not all at once, that the simple truth of Christ was so foully depraved. For according to the observation of the Unitarians, it is clear from undoubted testimonies of the fathers, that the views of the Antenicene doctors were entirely Arian or very near to the Arian, certainly nearer to the error which Arius ran into, than to the opinions of the schoolmen, or, which is pretty much the same thing, to the decretory articles of the homousian party of the present day." I ask, what is it, that the Unitarians have observed to be so clear from the undoubted testimony of the fathers? Is it, that the views of the Antenicene writers are entirely Arian? He does not venture himself to stand to this assertion, and therefore adds, "or very near to the Arian;" nay he is still in doubt, and subjoins, "certainly nearer to the error of Arius than to the opinions of the schoolmen," &c. I, however, affirm, that it is clear from undoubted testimonies of the Antenicene doctors, that their views were neither the Arian, nor like to the Arian, but quite contrary to the Arian view. For they all acknowledged that the Son is of one substance [with the Father], which is diametrically opposed to the Arian hypothesis. This we have clearly shewn in our Defence of the Nicene Creed. This was acknowledged by Petavius himself, from whose instructions the Unitarians have learnt to frame this calumny against the primitive fathers. But the author of the *Antenicismus* was taught by Curcellæus to say in objection to this, that the ancient doctors, who acknowledged the consubstantiality of the Son, that is, that the Son is of the same substance with God the Father, meant nothing else, than that the essence of the Father and the Son was specifically the same.

To this I reply; What if the case were so? still it would by no means follow, that the views of the Antenicene fathers

were entirely Arian, or like to the Arian. For with respect to the specific unity of the Persons in the Most Holy Trinity, such union as is that of individuals ¹ or persons among created things, (for instance, that of three men, Peter, Paul, and John, who are mutually separate from one another, and do not at all depend on one another, so far as their essence is concerned, [of such an union I say,]) the primitive doctors of the Church never even dreamt. The union of the divine Persons, which they acknowledged, was a far different one, of such a kind, indeed, that no instance and no similitude, suitable in every way ² to illustrate it, can be found among created things. They explain the matter thus; that God the Father is, as I have already said, the head and fountain of the Godhead, from whom the Son and the Holy Spirit are derived; but yet in such wise derived, as not at all to become separate from the Father's Person, but to be in the Father and the Father in Them, by a certain "circumincession" ³ [or, ³ περιχώρησιν. mutual inexistence], as they call it: on this subject we have treated fully in our Defence of the Nicene Creed, iv. 4. 9. [p. 641.] From this circumincession Petavius himself maintains, that numerical unity can be established. See his work, On the Trinity, iv. 16. It is at any rate clear, that this explanation cannot by any means be made consistent with the Arian hypothesis; it is also clear, that by the same explanation Tritheism is excluded, and the unity of the Godhead is maintained, without the real distinction of Persons being impaired ⁴. This was observed by the synod assembled at Rome under Dionysius, bishop of that city, in the case of the Alexandrian Dionysius, against whom certain of the Pentapolitans had brought the charge of denying the consubstantiality of the Son of God. For the fathers at that Council, after severely censuring those who introduced Tritheism by cutting and dividing the holy unity ⁵ into three independent hypostases, quite separated mutually from one another, immediately subjoin ⁶ a; "For the divine Word must needs be one with the God of all; and the Holy Ghost must needs repose and habitate in God; and further, thus the Divine Trinity must be gathered up and brought together into One, as into a

§ 3, 4.

¹ suppositorum.

² usque-
quaque
apta.

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³ περιχώρησιν.

⁴ salva.

⁵ τὴν ἁγίαν
μονάδα.
⁶ peregrinas.

* [Athanas. de Decret. Syn. Nic. 26. the Nicene Creed, book ii. c. 11. § 1. vol. i. p. 231; cited in the Defence of p. 303.]

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point,—the God (I mean) of all, the Almighty.” This explanation was always deemed an orthodox one in the Church of Christ down to the times of Damascene, who in his third book, *On the Orthodox Faith*, chap. 5, thus writes respecting the divine Persons^b; “We know that They cannot go forth from, or be set apart from Each Other, and that They are united and mutually contained, without being confused, One in the Other; and [that They are] united without being confused,—for They are Three, although They be united,—and distinguished without interval. For although each [Person] subsists by Himself, that is, is a perfect hypostasis, and has His own peculiar property, in other words, His mode of existence, different [from that of the Others]; yet They are united both in Their essence and in Their natural properties; and, in that They are not removed by an interval, nor go out from the Father’s hypostasis, They both are, and are said to be, also, one God only.” That this circumincession is a great mystery, religiously to be adored rather than curiously pried into, I have warned the reader at the very end of my Defence of the Nicene Creed:—that warning, I would have him read again and again, and especially keep ever in mind the golden words of the very learned Athenagoras, with which that book concludes.

5. But strange indeed is what the author of the Antenicismus asserts, in a subsequent part of his preface; “The Nicene fathers,” he says, “lay down that the Son is begotten of the Father’s essence, (begotten, I say, not made;) and begotten before all worlds, but yet not co-eternal with the Father.” But it is manifest that the Nicene fathers acknowledged the co-eternity of the Son, from the anathema appended to their creed, in which they condemn such as said of the Son, *ἦν ποτε, ὅτε οὐκ ἦν*, “There was once [a time], when He was not.” For if the Son is not co-eternal with His Father, the Arians were right in affirming, “there was once [a time] when He was not.” Presently he says of the same fathers, that they made the Son to be “of the same essence with the Father, but by no means co-equal with Him.” This is absurd; for if the Son be of the same essence

^b [P. 210; cited *ibid.* book iv. chap. 4. § 12. p. 648. note ^k.]

with the Father, He must needs be equal to the Father, § 4—6.
κατὰ φύσιν, in His nature and essence, which is the only [374]
equality of the Son asserted by Catholics. See Def. Nic.
Creed, iv. 2.

ANIMADVERSIONS ON THE TREATISE ITSELF.

6. IN my examination of the preface I have cut away the chief support of the treatise which follows, by meeting, that is, the objection, which fills almost every page of the *Antenicanism*, and which the author everywhere opposes, like the Gorgon's head, to those testimonies of the Antenicene doctors, which I had adduced in support of the Son's consubstantiality and co-eternity. This objection is more plainly stated, in the *Antenicanism*, p. 100, in these terms; "If I were to concede both points to the very learned Dr. Bull, the consubstantiality and the co-eternity as well,—although it would indeed be enough for the title of his work and his Defence of the Council, (perhaps more than enough with respect to the co-eternity,) still he could not be regarded as having yet done enough for his cause; for whatever he professed in the title-page of the book, it is clear that Dr. Bull throughout directs his weapons against the Unitarians, so far as they deny that Christ is the Most High God, possessing numerically¹ the same essence with the Father; a doctrine which if Dr. Bull did not believe, even he himself would not escape the charge of being a heretic from the Autotheists and other Catholics: just as² he might be called a Semiarian³ by certain zealots, those, I mean, who believe that in no respect whatever can the slightest inferiority or relation of less⁴ to greater be inferred [as existing] among the Persons from the order⁵ [in which They stand]." In what sense the ancient Catholic doctors (with whom I hold) said, that God the Father was the supreme God, distinctively⁶, without impairing⁷ the true divinity of the Son of God; what they believed to be the union of Persons in the Most Holy Trinity, I have clearly and lucidly shewn. From the Autotheists, as he calls them, it is manifest enough that I fear nothing, for I have not shrunk from encountering them openly, in my Defence of the Nicene Creed, iv. 1. § 7, 8.

¹ eandem numero essentiam.

² quemadmodum.

³ audire

possit Semiarianus.

⁴ minoritatem.

⁵ ab ordine.

⁶ διακριτικῶς.

⁷ salvā.

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¹ laby-
rinthis.

² κατακό-
ρως.

[pp. 565, &c.] And as for zealots, who are in the habit of rashly determining about subjects which they do not understand, I care not. Truth is what I have always loved before all things, and sought with a sincere and unprejudiced mind, (and, as I trust, by God's grace have found,) not in the mazes¹ of schoolmen, nor in the systems of moderns, (although I have never wholly made light of the labours either of the one or the other, but have always thought they might be read with advantage,) but in the Holy Scriptures, understood—to use the expression of Vincentius of Lerins^c—according to the rule of the ecclesiastical and the Catholic sense. But of this I have said more than enough².

7. It would be tedious to unravel all the tricks, arts, and shiftings of this author. We will briefly note a few of the chief. He has invented a distinction between the “intense” and the “remiss” sense of words; and he applies it to evade the force of certain very clear testimonies of the ancients which I had adduced. Thus, for instance, on the striking passage of Clement of Alexandria, in his Exhortation, p. 68^d; “The divine Word, who truly is the most manifest God, made equal to the Lord of all, because He was His Son, and [because] the Word was in God.” He says, “The force of the argument lies in the word ἐξισωθεὶς, *made equal*.” And then answers, p. 94; “First in a general way, there is no necessity that this should be understood of an absolute equality in all respects; *i. e.* in an intense sense, such as the Athanasian dogma requires.” But what does the sophist mean by [376] the words, “an absolute equality in all respects”? Does he mean an equality even in respect of origin? But such an equality the doctrine of Athanasius does not require. For neither Athanasius nor any other of the ancients ever denied the pre-eminence of God the Father, as He is the Father, and the origin and fountain of the Godhead. His answer therefore, in the next page, to this testimony of Clement's, is absurd; “Clement expressly distinguishes the Word from the Father, as the Lord of all; which words ascribe to the Father a pre-eminence and a prerogative, even on the admission of Dr. Bull; that is, I assert, that the Son is not the

^c Hæres. c. 2.

^d ὁ θεῖος λόγος, ὁ φανερώτατος ὄντως Θεός, ὁ τῷ δεσπότῃ τῶν ὅλων ἐξισωθεὶς,

ὅτι ἦν υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν ἐν τῷ Θεῷ.—[c. 10. p. 86. See the Def. Nic. Creed, book ii. chap. 6. § 3. p. 184.]

Supreme God." Clement is treating of an equality of nature, which he plainly teaches is an absolute equality. For he says that the Word is "most manifestly the true God ^e." Now is it possible to understand these words also in a remiss sense? By what words, I ask, could Clement have expressed more significantly "the intense sense"? Clement however proves, that the Word is most manifestly the true God, from the fact that He is the Son of God and exists in God;—a reasoning the force of which manifestly lies in this, that every son is of the same nature and essence with his father; and that whatsoever exists in God Himself must needs be God Himself. But what does Mr. Clerke mean when he adds the following words in the same place, p. 94? "Again, Dr. Bull does not receive from his authors, but, either for the support of his cause, or else through necessity, he puts on them ¹ [the ¹ ad eos affert. view], that this equality must be understood in respect not of *person*, but of *divine nature*, using a distinction which was not invented till long after those authors were dead." Does he mean that no one before Clement taught that the Son of God is of the same nature with God His Father, and therefore is equal to God the Father in respect of His *nature*, and that the Son is at the same time in a certain sense ² inferior ² aliqua tenus. to God the Father, namely, as being the second Person, having His origin from God the Father? But I have shewn [377] in my Def. Nic. Creed, iv. 2, that the fathers, who wrote before the birth of Clement, and after him, did all teach both these doctrines. What he afterwards subjoins as an answer to this passage of Clement, p. 95, convicts him either of impudence, or at any rate of the grossest carelessness in reading my book; "The reason," he says, "that is assigned by Clement, and adduced by Sandius, viz. 'because He is the Son of God, proves the same thing; for every son, as *such*, is less than his father, nor would the Gentiles to whom Clement writes understand this reasoning in any other way; to which reasoning of Sandius Dr. Bull makes no reply.'" Nothing can be more untrue; for to this foolish objection of Sandius I have given a long answer in my Defence of the Nicene Creed, iv. 2. 4. [p. 579.]

^e [Greek, "truly the most manifest God;" see Def. Nic. Creed, p. 184. note ^b.]

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8. Since he is unable with any show of reason to apply this distinction of an intense and a remiss sense to shake the force of any testimony which I have adduced, he has recourse to a desperate expedient, that of altering the text of the author, without the sanction of any printed edition or MS. Thus, for example, on that remarkable passage of Clement, *Pædag.* iii. 7, which I quoted in my Defence of the Nicene Creed, ii. 6. 4.^f [p. 186]; “For he that hath THE ALMIGHTY GOD THE WORD, is in need of nothing, and never is at any time without supply of that which he wants; for the WORD is a possession that needeth nothing, and the cause of all abundance;”—to this passage of Clement, I say, the author of the *Antenicenismus* makes this answer, p. 82; “The principal passage quoted by Dr. Bull from Clement, is *Pædag.* iii. 7, ἀνευδεῆς γὰρ ὁ τὸν παντοκράτορα Θεὸν λόγον ἔχων, &c. Dr. B. p. [186]; ‘For he that hath THE ALMIGHTY GOD THE WORD, is in need of nothing,’ &c. This passage which Dr. Bull has printed in capital letters might be set right by a slight change, if, for instance, it were written in the genitive case, τοῦ παντοκράτορος Θεοῦ. And, certainly, unless some such error of the copyist be admitted, I should venture to assert that that word (viz. ‘Almighty’) had been shamelessly foisted in by some impostor.” I reply, that that slight change of the text could by no means be endured, not only because it is not supported by the authority of any MS., but also because that slight change would entirely take away the force of the meaning of the author. The meaning of Clement is evident, [viz.] that he, who has the Word, can be in want of nothing, because that Word is the Almighty God, who can do all things for His own, and, as Almighty God, is the source of all abundance.

9. In the next place he asks me, with an appeal too to my conscience, where I ever found that Christ is by any ancient doctor called by the name of Almighty God? I reply, He is called so by Tertullian, and that in the very passage which he himself afterwards points at, although he dares not quote it at length, [the passage occurs in Tertullian’s treatise]

^f ἀνευδεῆς γὰρ ὁ τὸν παντοκράτορα ἀπορεῖ ποτε κτήσις γὰρ ὁ λόγος ἀνευδεῆς, Θεὸν λόγον ἔχων, καὶ οὐδενὸς ὧν χρῆζει καὶ εὐπορίας ἀπάσης αἰτίος.—[p. 277.]

Against Praxeas, c. 17 g. "The names of the Father—God § 7—10. Almighty, the Most High, the Lord of Hosts, the King of Israel, He that Is—inasmuch as the Scriptures so teach, these we say belonged also to the Son, and that in these the Son has come and in these has ever acted, and thus manifested them in Himself unto men. 'All things,' He says, 'that the Father hath, are Mine.' Then why not His names also? When, therefore, you read Almighty God, and Most High, and God of Hosts, and King of Israel, and He that Is, consider whether by these the Son also be not indicated, WHO IN HIS OWN RIGHT IS GOD ALMIGHTY, IN THAT HE IS THE WORD OF GOD ALMIGHTY." These words of Tertullian the author of the *Antenicensimus*, with his usual shamelessness, refers to Christ, p. 83, in that He is "exalted by the right hand of God;" and is even bold enough to affirm, that from this very passage "it is most clear that Tertullian, in his [379] treatise Against Praxeas, (which Dr. Bull quotes in support of the Consubstantiality,) did not believe, that Christ was Almighty God." Surely, Tertullian's meaning in the passage cited is most manifest, [viz.] that CHRIST AS HE IS THE TRUE ¹ genuinus. SON OF GOD THE FATHER, and as He is His Word, (the Logos existing in Him,) has all things which God the Father has, and that therefore all the essential attributes of God the Father belong to Him, and among them the attribute of [being] God Almighty.

10. With the same confidence does he endeavour ^h to elude the clear passage of Irenæus, Against Heresies, ii. 43ⁱ; "For thou art not uncreated, O man; nor wast thou always co-existent with God like His own ² Word." On which passage ² proprium. he thus remarks; "It would not appear unsuitable (if it were necessary) to explain these words by understanding ['God'], with which Irenæus is accustomed to join 'the Word': as if he should say: For thou art not uncreated, O man, as God is, nor wast thou always co-existent with God, like His nearest ³ Word." But it is most evident, that both the clauses of this sentence of Irenæus, viz. "Thou art not ³ proximum. uncreated," as well as, "nor wast thou always co-existent

g [P. 510; cited in the Defence of the Nicene Creed, book ii. chap. 7. § 4. p. 198, note 2.]

h [P. 86.]

i [ii. 25. 3. p. 153; cited Def. Nic. Creed, ii. 5. § 5. p. 167.]

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with God," ought to be referred to the same Word of God. Nay, if the former clause of the sentence, "thou art not uncreated," were blotted out, our cause would remain unhurt, and the Word of God uncreated. That is to say; it would be intimated with sufficient clearness, that He is not a made or created being, in the following clause of the sentence, "nor wast thou always co-existent with God like His Word." For these words unquestionably declare the co-eternal existence of the Word with God the Father, from which it necessarily follows, that the Word must not by any means be classed amongst the things that are made by God, or created beings. It is to be observed also, that Mr. Clerke follows the corrupt and absurd reading of Erasmus and Gallasius, putting *proximum* [nearest] instead of *proprium* [His own], contrary to the authority of the majority of MSS. and those the best. See the note of my very learned friend, Dr. Grabe, upon this passage.

11. Moreover, we must observe, that Mr. Clerke in his answers to the testimonies of the ancients, which I had quoted, constantly keeps out of sight the principal arguments, by which I confirm those testimonies; and sometimes even brings forward afresh objections which I had clearly refuted, as if I had passed them by altogether untouched, and that designedly. Thus, for example, in p. 101, in reply to Justin's testimony respecting the Son's consubstantiality, he sports with the similitudes with which that excellent man endeavours to illustrate the subject, which no one in his senses supposed to agree in every particular. But let the impartial reader consult what we have said in the Defence of the Nicene Creed, ii. 4. 4^k, and he will see not only that Justin really acknowledged the consubstantiality of the Son of God, but also that the doctrine of the Son's being produced of¹ the very essence and substance of God the Father, was a doctrine which in Justin's time was received, fixed, settled, and confirmed in the Catholic Church: and that the heretics of those times assailed that doctrine with the same cavils, which the Arians and other heretics afterwards employed; and lastly, that the Catholics in Justin's age met the sophism with exactly the same reply, which the Catholic

¹ ex.

^k [P. 138.]

doctors used in order to stop the mouths of the Arians, after § 10—12. Arius had raised a controversy about the consubstantiality. Thus to the objection, which in pp. 111—113 he raises, from Tertullian's saying, that the Son is "*a portion of the divinity, that God the Father cannot be included in space and is invisible, that the Son appeared in space, and is visible,*" I have given a long and clear answer in Def. Nic. Creed, ii. 7. 4, 5,¹ and iv. 3. 8, 9^m: but the whole of this Mr. Clerke [381] passes over in silence. However, I can confidently appeal to Mr. Clerke's conscience whether he seriously believes, that it was Tertullian's real opinion, that God the Father and God the Son are of a nature so different, as that the One is an imperfect, and the Other a perfect, God; the One incapable of being included in space, the Other not so; the One in His own nature visible, the Other invisible? Such a supposition is contradicted by the express testimonies of Tertullian, which we have quoted in speaking of the Son's consubstantiality, Def. Nic. Creed, ii. 7. Once for all, I will say, that I have one request to make of the candid reader, (and it is not an unfair one,) that he will not hastily rely on Mr. Clerke's assertions in his answer to my book, before he shall have examined the passages themselves, which he professes to answer.

12. In his answer to my work, Mr. Clerke treats subjects in a confused and irregular manner, without observing any order. I will briefly notice the chief points which remain, in the order in which they occur. In p. 78, where he first begins his treatise against me, you may read these words of his; "First, let us treat of Clement, whom Dr. Bull proves to have been a Trinitarian from the circumstance of his calling Christ 'God,' and 'the great God;,' as if the Unitarians themselves did not acknowledge Christ to be 'God' and even 'the great God;,' yea, in accordance with Rom. ix. 5, 'over all God blessed for ever.'" That Clement of Alexandria was a Trinitarian, I prove, not only from Christ's being called by him "God" and "the great God," but from many other exceedingly clear testimonies, which I adduced in Def. Nic. Creed, ii. 6. One illustrious testimony I have already quoted, and vindicated from Mr. Clerke's frivolous cavils. But who can read without indignation, what he says about himself

¹ [P. 199.]

^m [P. 606.]

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and his Unitarian friends acknowledging Christ to be "God" even the "great God," yea, according to Rom. ix. 5, "over all God blessed for ever"? which means, forsooth, that the Unitarians acknowledge Christ to be God, but a created God, such as to be a mere creature, that had no existence before His birth of the Virgin. O great God!

Again, in the 79th and following pages, we have his lengthy exposition, or rather perversion, of this noble passage of St. Paul; to which exposition may be opposed what we have written Def. Nic. Creed, ii. 5. 3ⁿ, where we have shewn that all the fathers, even the Antenicene, who have quoted this passage, read and understood it in exactly the same way in which it is read and understood by Catholics of the present day.

¹ urget.

13. In page 84 he dwells¹ upon a passage of Clement's, *Strom.* vii. p. 702^o, which Petavius had remarked on, and I had myself examined, in Def. Nic. Creed^p, ii. 6. 6, in which it is said, that ἡ υἱοῦ φύσις τῷ μόνῳ παντοκράτορι προσεχυστάτη, i. e. "the nature of the Son is most closely conjoined with the alone Almighty;" and to my observations on the passage he thus replies; "Dr. Bull, in order to evade the force of the passage which has been cited, will have it that προσεχυστάτη means 'most closely conjoined' [*conjunctissima*], rather than 'most near to' [*propinquissima*]; whatever difference, however, this makes is in our favour; for the more closely conjoined the Second Person is to the First, so much more glorious are the titles, which He is capable of receiving: but as the *Second* Person is not the *First*, although most closely conjoined with Him, so therefore neither is the Word 'Almighty God,' although most closely conjoined with Him." In answer to this it might be said, that "the Almighty" (ὁ παντοκράτωρ), in the passage in question, denotes God the Father, who as being the fountain of the Godhead is by way of pre-eminence² called Almighty God, by Clement and other ancient writers. But we allow, that the Word is not God the Father, although He is next to, or most closely conjoined with, God the Father; nay, that He is manifestly distinguished from God the Father, by the very fact of His being said to be "next to" [*proximus*] or

² κατ'
ἐξοχήν.

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ⁿ [P. 162.]

^o [P. 831.]

^p [P. 187.]

"most closely conjoined with" [*conjunctissimus*] God the § 12—14.
 Father (for it does not much matter in which of these ways *προσεχέσταιρη* is rendered). Notwithstanding that the Logos, as begotten of God the Almighty Father Himself, (the perfect Word, born of the perfect Father, as Clement actually says, in the *Pædag.* i. 6. p. 92^a.) may be called and is Almighty God, and is by Clement himself expressly called so, as I have shewn clearly a little above. But Mr. Clerke in his treatise often repeats and parades this passage of Clement, and (following the guidance herein of Petavius) infers from it, that this most learned father believed, with the Arians, or at least with the Semiarians, that the nature of the Son of God is indeed most near or most like to the Father's, but not the same with it. The impartial reader however should consult and seriously weigh the passages of Clement which I have produced in Def. Nic. Creed, ii. 6, (and especially the remarkable doxology from the conclusion of the *Pædag.* which I quote in § 4 of the said chapter,) and then believe, if he can, that Clement did not acknowledge the consubstantiality of the Son. Would it not then have been better if in the passage of Clement in question the word *φύσις* were regarded as equivalent to personal subsistence¹, ¹ personaliter. a sense in which Photius and Petavius himself have remarked that it was used by other fathers also? See Def. Nic. Creed, ii. 9. 11^r.

14. In the same page Mr. Clerke observes, that the primitive fathers "most frequently speak of the Son of God as the Father's minister, and as obedient to Him." And shortly afterwards he produces some passages, especially out of Irenæus, to that effect. In Def. Nic. Creed, ii. 5. 5, 6, 7^s, however, I have replied to those passages at length, as they were quoted by Petavius, in which reply I clearly shewed, that in those passages Irenæus says such things as are so far from savouring of Arianism, that they quite overturn the dogma of Arius. The impartial reader may examine what [384] we have there said, and judge for himself. In the next page but one Mr. Clerke brings forward a passage from Origen's sixth book against Celsus, p. 317^t, where Adamantius² says, ² i. e. Origen. that "the Son of God, the Word, was the immediate Creator

^a [P. 113.]

^r [P. 236.]

^s [P. 167.]

^t [c. 60. p. 678.]

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¹ per se.

of the world, who Himself by Himself¹ framed the universe; whilst the Father of the Word was the primary Creator, by reason of His having given commandment to His Son and Word to make the world." Now this passage also, which Petavius had likewise quoted, I examined at length, and clearly shewed that it contains nothing which other Catholic fathers—whether Antenicene or Postnicene—have not said; nothing which, when fairly interpreted, is inconsistent with the rule of faith, even so far as it is delivered and explained by the Nicene fathers. See Def. Nic. Creed, ii. 9. 10. [p. 233.]

15. In the same page Mr. Clerke thus proceeds; "I am really obliged to Dr. Bull for supplying me with two irrefragable testimonies: first, from chap. 11 of Eusebius's Panegyric on Constantine, to this effect; 'Ἐπεὶ γὰρ . . . ' For inasmuch as it was not possible, that the fleeting substance of bodies, and the *nature* of the rational creatures, but just brought into being, should approach to the all-ruling God, through the exceeding degree wherein they fall short of Him, . . . being most widely distant and far removed from *the nature which is unbegotten*; with good reason the All-good and God of the universe interposes a mean (Θεὸς τῶν ὄλων μέσσην τινα), the Divine and Almighty power (παναλκή δύναμιν) of His only-begotten Word, which has indeed the most perfect and intimate intercourse possible with the Father . . . notwithstanding which He mercifully condescended, and in a certain manner conformed, and adapted Himself to those that fall short of the Supreme.' No doubt there is a distance [385] between even the Word and the Supreme, though not a great one. But what does Dr. Bull say on this? He answers, p. 392; 'But Eusebius manifestly says, that the power of the Word is a mean between God and the creatures, not viewed in Itself, but on account of that condescension of which he is speaking.' But the sophist has given my answer in an incomplete and mutilated form. For in the Defence of the Nicene Creed, iii. 9. 11, [p. 502,] upon this passage of Eusebius I first observed as follows; "But Eusebius manifestly says, that the power of the Word is a mean between God and the creatures, not viewed in Itself, but on account of that condescension of which he is speaking. Nay,

he expressly declares in this place, that the power of the § 14—16.

Word, even whilst lowering Itself thus, has a most perfect and intimate intercourse with God the Father, and remaining with Him enjoys His ineffable secrets; exactly in the same sense as Athanasius asserts, that the Word Himself does not so condescend, but that He ever remains the unmixed splendour of the Father.” Then, a little after, I add; “But that matter is put beyond all risk of controversy by the words of Eusebius in the sixth chapter of this very Panegyric on Constantine, where, after speculating somewhat subtly on the number three, he says that thereby is signified the Most Holy Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, whose nature is equal and alike uncreate and without all beginning. His words are these; ‘The number three (τριάς) first exhibited justice, introducing equality; as having received beginning, middle, and end equal; and these are an image of the mystical and all-holy and sovereign Trinity; which depending on the nature that is without beginning and ingenerate, has received the seeds and the proportions and the causes of the being of all created things.’ What, I ask, was ever said by any Catholic more effectual or more express than this, against Arius and the other Anti-trinitarians?”

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16. The author of the *Antenicenismus* in p. 88, has the following; “Dr. Bull quotes the words of Alexander himself, under whom Arius was a presbyter, (which were also quoted by Schlicting, On the Trinity, against Meisner, p. 144,) out of Theodoret, i. 4; ‘They do not know, in their want of good learning, that there must be a wide interval between the Unbegotten Father and the things, both rational and irrational, which were created by Him out of what was not; intervening between which [is] an Only-begotten nature (ὁν μεσιτεύουσα φύσις μονογενής), that of the Word of God, which was begotten of the Father Himself WHO IS, and by which the Father made all things out of what was not.’ These words (as Dr. Bull says) require no comment.” Falsely and shamelessly said, as usual! I did not say, that this passage of Alexander needed no comment; nay, on the contrary I employed ^u a comment, that of one who best knew Alexander’s meaning; even Alexander himself, who a little after writes

^u Def. Nic. Creed, iii. 9. 11. [p. 504.]

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thus ; “ ‘ No one knoweth who the Father is but the Son, and no one knoweth who the Son is but the Father ; [of] Him we have learnt, that He is incapable of change or alteration, even as the Father ; a Son wanting nothing and perfect, like unto the Father, inferior to Him only in [this, that the Father is] unbegotten : for He is the most exact and unvarying image of the Father.’ These words,” I said, “ are so clear and distinct as to require no comment.” Add-
[387] ing ; “ He who wrote them could not have meant to say, that the Son of God intervenes (*μεσιτεύειν*) between God and the creatures, in the same sense as Arius.”

Mr. Clerke then says, that I (for the sake of seeming to say something) thought fit to take “ nature ” for “ person ” in this passage. In a marginal note of my work, I did indeed remark on that passage of Alexander’s wherein he says, “ intervening between which is an Only-begotten nature, that of the Word of God,” as follows ; “ He uses nature for person, for he means nature in person, *φύσιν ἐν ὑποστάσει*, as he had just before expressed himself. *Valesius in loc.*” You see the note is not my own, but the learned Valesius’, who also confirmed his note by the words of Alexander himself, which occur not far from the passage cited. The faithless man, however, has concealed all this from his reader.

17. Mr. Clerke, in p. 90, appeals to a passage I had quoted* from Eusebius’s Eccles. Hist. i. 2, where the historian, speaking of the Angel, who was adored by Abraham, as God and Judge, thus writes ; *Εἰ γὰρ*, &c. *i.e.* “ For if all reason refuse to allow, that the unbegotten and unchangeable essence of the Almighty God should change into the form of man, or, again, should deceive the eyes of the beholders with the [mere] semblance of any created being, or yet that the Scriptures should falsely invent such things ; who else (if it be not allowable to say that it was the First Cause of all things) could be declared to be the God and Lord, who judgeth the whole earth, and, being seen in human form, doeth judgment, but His pre-existent Word alone ?” But here again with his usual ingenuousness he passes by in complete silence a second passage, which I had quoted in the same part of my work from Eusebius, by which I explain the meaning of

* Def. Nic. Creed, iv. 3. 12. [p. 615.]

Eusebius from Eusebius himself. This other passage will shew that Eusebius did not at all suppose that the Son of God, who formerly appeared to the patriarchs in visible form, is really of a nature alien from the Father, that is to say, finite and mutable, much less that by those appearances He was actually changed. He frequently rejects such blasphemy with abhorrence. Nay he expressly teaches, that the Word of God, even after He had taken true manhood into the unity of His Person, continued the same unchangeable, incomprehensible, and omnipresent God, in his Panegyric on Constantine which is appended to his Ecclesiastical History, in the 14th chapter of which he thus writes[†]; “And herein did He minister to the Father’s counsels, Himself meanwhile continuing immaterial, such as before this He had been with the Father; His substance not changed, nor His nature annihilated; nor yet confined by the bonds of the flesh; nor again making His sojourn [only] there where the human vessel [of His flesh] was, and unable to be present in other places of the universe. For even at the very time when He was conversant among men He was filling all things with His presence; and was with the Father and was also in the Father; and was taking care of all things at once, both things in heaven and things in earth. Nor was there anything to prevent Him, as us, from being present everywhere.”

18. Some things Mr. Clerke, it must be admitted, produces out of the writings of Eusebius which are almost, or altogether, indefensible. But these are taken from the books which he sent out before the Nicene Council. Rightly therefore and wisely has Valesius[‡] remarked concerning the calumniators of Eusebius; “They bring forward indeed some passages of Eusebius, whereby to prove, that he was an adherent of the Arian doctrine. But they make no difference between the books which were composed by Eusebius before the Council of Nice, and those which he wrote after that

[†] [καὶ ταῦτα ταῖς πατρικαῖς βουλαῖς διηγοῦντο, μένων αὐτὸς πάλιν ἄυλος, οἷος καὶ πρὸ τούτου παρὰ τῷ Πατρὶ ἦν· οὐτι μεταβαλὼν τὴν οὐσίαν· οὐδ’ ἀφανισθείσης τῆς αὐτοῦ φύσεως, οὐδέ γε τοῖς τῆς σαρκὸς δεσμοῖς πεδηθείς· οὐδ’ ὧδε μὲν ἔνθα ἦν ἀνθρώπειον σκεῦος, τὰς διατριβὰς ποιούμενος, ἐν ἑτέροις δὲ εἶναι τοῦ παντός κεκλυμένος· ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἐν τῷ τότε καθ’ ὃν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐπολι-

τεύετο, τὰ πάντα ἐπλήρου, καὶ τῷ Πατρὶ συνῆν· καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ γε ἦν, καὶ τῶν πάντων ἀθρόως ἐν τῷ τότε, τῶν τε κατ’ οὐρανὸν καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἐπεμέλετο· οὐδαμῶς τῆς πανταχόσε παρουσίας, ὁμολῶς ἡμῖν ἀποκλείόμενος.—Eusebius, de Laud. Constan. c. 14. p. 761.]

[‡] Valesius on the Life and Writings of Eusebius.

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Council: which, however, ought certainly to have been done, in order to give a sure and fair judgment on the belief of Eusebius. For what was written before the Council of Nice ought not to be objected and imputed against him."

19. After this Mr. Clerke treats again of Clement of Alexandria, through several pages, torturing and wresting his writings to elicit from them something which may make for his cause: but in vain. Let the candid reader refer to what we have adduced from Clement in the Defence of the Nicene Creed, ii. 6, and he will be astonished at the boldness of this man, in having presumed to call that most learned father a patron of Arian or Semiarian doctrine. The single word, *προσεχυστάτη*, "most closely conjoined," took so complete and full a hold of the imagination of this light-minded person, that he could henceforward see nothing that was sound in Clement or in other fathers. Yet if he had only read and seriously weighed the words, which immediately follow after *προσεχυστάτη* in Clement, he would have understood that the excellent father did not at all mean by that term to intimate, that the Godhead of the Son was in anywise inferior to that of the Father. "This," says Clement^a, "is the highest pre-eminence which ordains all things according to the Father's will and directs in the best way the universe, working all things with unwearied and inexhaustible power, looking unto the hidden ideas through which It works. For the Son of God never quits His own watch-tower; not being divided nor severed, nor passing from place to place, but being everywhere at every time, and not contained anywhere. [He is] all mind, all light of the Father, all eye, seeing all things, hearing all things, knowing all things, by His power searching out the powers." In these words He ascribed to the Son the attributes of God, that are primary, essential, and incommunicable to created beings,—unchangeableness, immensity, omnipresence, omniscience. And would the sophist here thrust upon us his worn-out distinction about sense "intense" and sense "remiss"? But who can conceive a "remiss" omni-

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^a [αὕτη ἡ μέγιστη ὑπεροχή, ἣ τὰ πάντα διατάσσεται κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἄριστα οἰκίζει, ἀκαμάτῳ καὶ ἀτρίτῳ δυνάμει πάντα ἐργαζομένη, δι' ὧν ἐνεργεῖ τὰς ἀποκρύφους ἐννοίας ἐπιβλεπούσα, οὐ γὰρ ἐξίσταται ποτε τῆς αὐτοῦ περιωπῆς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ,

οὐ μερίζμενος, οὐκ ἀποτεμνόμενος, οὐ μεταβαίνων ἐκ τόπου εἰς τόπον, παντὶ δὲ ὧν πάντοτε καὶ μηδαμῇ περιεχόμενος, ὅλος νοῦς, ὅλος φῶς πατρῶων, ὅλος ὀφθαλμὸς, πάντα ὁρῶν, πάντα ἀκούων, εἰδὼς πάντα, δυνάμει τὰς δυνάμεις ἐρευνῶν.—p. 831.]

science and a "remiss" omnipresence? Clement here abso- § 18—20.
lutely and simply affirms, that the Son of God is everywhere present, contained in no place, that He sees all things, hears all things, knows all things. What room can there be here for a remiss sense, without contradiction? For it would be just as if you should say, the Son of God is incomprehensible and contained in no place, but yet is circumscribed in a certain space; the Son of God is omnipresent, but from a certain spot is absent; He sees all things, hears all things, knows all things, and yet there are some things, which He does not see, nor hear, nor know. Besides this, it should especially be observed, that the Son of God is in this passage designated ὅλος νοῦς, ὅλος φῶς πατρῶον, "all mind, all light of the Father;" an expression which surely declares plainly enough, that the Father's Godhead is in the Son, and therefore that the Godhead of the Father and of the Son is the same.

20. In p. 102 Mr. Clerke deals with a passage which I had cited out of the Epistle to Diognetus attributed to Justin (which if it is not Justin's, is certainly the production of a Catholic writer who was at least contemporary with Justin). "Dr. Bull," he says, "alleges from Justin's Epistle to Diognetus many magnificent statements concerning Christ, such for instance as, 'the stars obey Him,' &c., for all of which Clement's προσεχστάτη is an abundant answer ¹." Marvellous! ¹ abunde satisfacit.
What is there which that mighty word προσεχστάτη will not effect? If we produce a hundred passages from any primitive father, testifying in the most significant terms the true divinity of the Son, we shall gain nothing with Mr. Clerke. That single word of Clement's is an answer for them all, and that an abundant one. If, however, we were to concede to Mr. Clerke that Clement's word really means all that he wishes, what has this to do with the author of the Epistle to Diognetus? Must all the primitive fathers be explained by that single word of Clement? But let the reader examine the passage from the Epistle in question, as I have quoted it in my Defence of the Nicene Creed, ii. 4. 7, [p. 146,] and he will there see the true divinity of the Son set forth by the author in the clearest terms. [After quoting the passage, I remarked, that the author of it] "expressly denies that the Word, or Son of God, is a minister (ὑπηρέτην), or creature,

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(for these two words are equivalent, as I have several times observed, and as, indeed, is of itself evident enough;) calling Him incomprehensible, and the very Framer and Creator of all things, on whose will depends, and by whose power is upheld, the whole fabric of the universe, whether of heaven or of earth; and to whom all creatures, of what rank soever, are in subjection and obedience, as unto their Author, their God, and their Lord. He says also that He was sent into this world as a King by a King, as God by God; that is, in effect, the Son, a King, [sent] by the Father, a King; the Son, God, [sent] by the Father, God." To the point, however, which I urge, namely, that the author expressly says, God the Father sent His Son, οὐχ ὡς ὑπηρέτην, "not as a minister," Mr. Clerke says, that the answer is most easy. Let us therefore hear what his answer is; "The author means a minister of such a sort as the angels, and as men who exercise government on earth, &c., as he explains himself; not a servant in menial servitude; for there is an interval great enough between an angel and the Son begotten of the Father's essence." No doubt of it; between an angel and the Son begotten of the Father's essence, the interval is great enough, so great indeed as is the interval between God and the creatures, that is, an infinite one. For whatever is begotten of the very essence of God, must needs be God. Hence the author of the Epistle, after saying that God the Father sent His Son "not as a minister," goes on to say, that God the Father sent His Son as the very Framer and Creator of all things, as a King by a King, and in fine, as "God."

[392] 21. In our Defence of the Nicene Creed, ii. 4. 8^b, we adduced an illustrious passage of Justin respecting the worship and adoration of the Most Holy Trinity, God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The passage is as follows; "We confess, indeed, that in respect of such supposed gods we are atheists, but not in respect of the most true God, the Father of righteousness and temperance and all other virtues, in whom is no admixture of evil. But we worship and adore both Him, and His Son, who came from Him (and hath taught us [respecting] these things and [respecting] the host of the other good angels, who follow Him, and are made like

^b [P. 148.]

unto Him), and the prophetic Spirit, honouring them in reason and truth^e." Now on this passage Mr. Clerke, in pp. 104, 105 of his work, remarks as follows; "Justin appears to combine the angels with the Holy Spirit in the third place, very unbecomingly, if he had thought the Holy Spirit was the Supreme God." "Appears" perhaps to Mr. Clerke, as he also appeared to Bellarmine and other papists, (whose cause he is himself here pleading,) although really he does no such thing, as I clearly shewed in the Defence of the Nicene Creed, where I quoted and fully explained this passage, and shall afterwards further prove. The sophist proceeds; "Justin distinguishes the Father from the other Persons under the designation of 'the most true God,' which Dr. Bull overlooked as if it were of no account." I reply, Justin indeed puts God the Father in the first place, under the title of "the most true God," inasmuch as He is the head and principle of the Godhead; but he does not do this so as to exclude the Son and the Holy Spirit from the verity of Godhead: nay, he includes Them by conjoining Them with God the Father, as to be adored, together with Him, with divine worship. For the words, "we worship and adore" (*σεβόμεθα καὶ προσκυνούμεν*), are manifestly referred to all the three Persons. In order that the meaning of this passage may be made more plain, especial notice should be taken of the clear opposition which there is in it between "the supposed gods" [393] (*τοὺς νομιζομένους θεοὺς*), those that the Gentiles falsely regarded and worshipped as gods, and the true God, whom alone the Christians adored. Justin confesses that the Christians had nothing to do with the false gods, which the heathen worshipped, and that in this sense might have been called atheists; but that in reality they were not atheists, but on the contrary most religious worshippers of the true God. How does he prove this? We worship, he says, and adore with reason and truth, (*i. e.* with a reasonable and true worship—without fleshly sacrifices,) God the Father, and His Son, and the Holy Ghost. Now if either the Son or the Holy Ghost were not truly God, surely, such a defence of the Christians would have been a very lame one¹, since the¹ elumbis. Christians themselves would have been involved in the same

^e [Apol. i. 6. p. 47.]

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offence with which they charged the heathen, that is, of worshipping as God that which really was not God. But strange indeed is what follows in Mr. Clerke's book. "Dr. Bull," he says, "has enough to do to exculpate Justin from the invocation of angels, when he himself invokes the Holy Ghost in his public prayers, without any example or precept in Scripture, or in the practice of the ancient Church, at least in its solemn assemblies." What the trifler means by this, it is not

¹ misellus. the fact, that the unhappy ¹ man a little after expressly affirms, that the Holy Ghost is nothing else than "an angel of the

² primum.

first class ²." We, however, sons of our holy mother the Church of England, who acknowledge the divinity of the Holy Ghost, do rightly invoke Him, not indeed altogether as separate from the other Persons, but with relation to the Father and the Son, whose Spirit He is. For in our Litany we pray thus ; "O God the Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father

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and the Son, have mercy upon us, miserable sinners." And some example of this invocation is not wanting in the holy Scriptures. For St. Paul thus concludes his Second Epistle to the Corinthians ; "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all. Amen." This, surely, is not merely "a general wish" (as Mr. Clerke says), without any direction of

³ intuitus
mentis.

mind ³, or pious elevation of heart to the Divine Persons (far be it from us even to think such a thing of an Apostle, of piety so exalted) ; but is undoubtedly a solemn prayer of the Apostle to God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, that They would grant to his Corinthians the blessings which He asks for them ; and therefore he concludes with the usual seal of prayer, "Amen." And this form of prayer is found in the Liturgies of all Churches, even the most ancient. Besides the threefold invocation of the Godhead, *Kyrie eleison*, which all Liturgical writers refer to the Most Holy Trinity, is extremely ancient, and has been used from the remotest antiquity in the Churches, in the Greek Churches especially. See Cardinal Bona, *Rer. Liturg.* ii. 4. But why need I enlarge on this ? Justin, in this very passage which we

have before us, expressly testifies, that the Catholic Christians § 21, 22.
 in his own age in common¹ worshipped and adored the Holy ¹commu-
 Ghost also, as well as the Father and the Son. The same niter.
 thing is attested by the Doxologies which were in use in the
 Churches in the age next after the Apostles², (which also ²τῆς πρώ-
 Justin mentions,) for in them the Holy Ghost is conjoined της διαδο-
 with God the Father and the Son. See Defence of the Nicene χῆς.
 Creed, ii. 3. § 6, 9, 12. In harmony with these again is that
 seraphic hymn, called *Trisagion*, which is wont to be chanted
 at the celebration of the awful Mystery in all Churches
 wherever Christianity extends. On this see Cardinal Bona,
Rer. Liturg. ii. 10. But now, can it be wrong³ to invoke ³nefas.
 Him, and to implore in our prayers His mercy and aid, whom
 we thus adore and glorify with God the Father and the [395]
 Son?

22. After this Mr. Clerke censures me sharply for absurdly
 disturbing the order of the words in this passage of Justin,
 by joining "the angels" with διδάξαντα, "hath taught us
 [respecting]," instead of with σεβόμεθα, "we worship." I
 answer, it is clear that the verbs σεβόμεθα and προσκυνούμεν,
 "we worship and adore," must not on any account be referred
 to the host of the holy angels, by this irrefragable argument:
 If those words be referred to the angels, it will follow, not
 only that Justin approved of a religious worship of the
 angels, (which yet no one in his senses can believe, who ever
 read with care his Dialogue with Trypho,) but also, that the
 Catholic Church of Christ in Justin's day worshipped the
 angels, and that with the [supreme] worship, which they call
latreia. For it is most evident that Justin is here pleading
 the cause of Christians generally, and defending their religion
 against the heathen. It is equally certain that the worship,
 which he here treats of, is not of any kind⁴ whatever, but, as ⁴aliquali.
 I have said, of that [highest degree of] worship called *latreia*,
 such as the Catholic Church offers to God the Father, and
 the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Now it is most absolutely
 clear, that the religious worship of angels was utterly unknown
 in the Catholic Church of Christ, during the first three cen-
 turies and more. You may read the extant writings of the
 primitive doctors; you may read the most ancient Liturgies;
 but not a syllable⁵ will you find in them about the religious ⁵ne γρηθ
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worship of angels. It is the consentient voice of the primitive Catholic Church, that God alone, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, is to be religiously worshipped and adored.

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23. It remains therefore that *σεβόμεθα* should be joined with *διδάξαντα*, and that the mention of good angels in this passage should have reference to what had been previously said about bad angels. That this may more evidently appear, it is to be observed, that the phrase here used is not, absolutely, *τὸν τῶν ἀγγέλων στρατὸν*, "the host of the angels," but *τὸν τῶν ἄλλων ἀγγέλων στρατὸν*, "the host of the other angels." The word *ἄλλων*, at any rate, manifestly refers to some "other" angels, of whom Justin had been previously speaking. But he had just before said, that Christians had been taught by their Master Christ to avoid bad angels or demons, whom the heathen held to be gods. Here he adds, that the same Christ has instructed us concerning the other angels. But what has our Master taught us about these other angels? Surely, that they are good, and that in holiness indeed they are made like unto their most Holy Creator, but nevertheless are *ἐπομένους*, "following [or attendant] spirits," (a metaphor which, as I observed, was derived from the *pedissequi*, servants who are accustomed to follow behind their masters,) and consequently were not themselves to be religiously worshipped and adored. But what religious man can, without horror, read the words of Mr. Clerke which immediately follow? "Justin," he says, "joins the Holy Spirit with the angels, as if He were one of them and the chief¹ among them, as in truth He is, whatever Justin might have thought." He has here followed John Biddle, an English writer, whom he defends in his *Antenicismus* against Mr. Eastwick. It is, however, unsuitable in this place, and indeed unnecessary, to take any pains to refute this senseless and blasphemous conceit. It is absolutely certain, that neither Justin, nor the Catholic Christians of Justin's age, accounted the Holy Ghost to be an angel.

¹ ἡγεμονικός.

24. In p. 110 he passes to the objection [derived] from the immensity and invisibility of God, which the primitive doctors appeared to allow to the Father, but absolutely to deny to the Son of God. "Let us hear," says Mr. Clerke,

"the untying of this Gordian knot, which may be stated in § 22—24.
a few words: viz. he unties the knot 'by assumed appearances, by a symbolical and economical presence.' 'The origin

of the Trinity, and the economy,' are two all-powerful distinctions in the hands of our Trinitarians. In this passage, however, Dr. Bull could not have recourse to the 'origin,' or beg the question; he therefore takes refuge in the 'economy.'" [397]

I answer; Most shameless man! That distinction about the economy is not a subterfuge, hastily invented by me or by any other Trinitarian, nor do I take refuge in it from compulsion, but because I am called to it by the loud and distinct voice of those very fathers who seemed to deny the immensity and invisibility of the Son of God. I devoted an entire and pretty lengthy chapter to replying to the proposed objection, Defence of the Nicene Creed, iv. 3. 12. [p. 615.] The substance of my reply is as follows; "That, whenever those doctors of the Church, who wrote before the rise of the Arian heresy, argue, that it was not God the Father, but the Son, who appeared under the Old Testament, and in the fulness of time became incarnate, on the ground that the Father is immeasurable, and is not included in space, and is invisible, so that He can be seen of none; they by no means meant to deny, that the Son of God, equally with the Father, is in His own nature immeasurable and invisible; but merely intimated this, that all such appearances of God, and also the Incarnation itself, had reference to the economy which the Son of God undertook; which economy is by no means suited to the Father, inasmuch as He had not His origin from any beginning, and is indebted for His authorship to none." That this was the actual meaning and view of those ancients, I proved from these two circumstances; that in many passages, in other parts of their works, they all allow, that the Son of God, equally with God the Father, is in His own nature indeed incomprehensible, omnipresent, and invisible; secondly, that some of them do actually in express terms interpret these expressions of theirs in reference to the economy. What says Mr. Clerke to this? "The fathers," he says, "were especially anxious to assert the prerogative of the Father as the Supreme God, both in respect of 'nature,' and in respect of 'attributes' and 'operations,'

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¹ ænigmata.
tice.

(for on all these points there was among the fathers an 'intense' sense and a 'remiss' sense as well,) so that they thought that the immensity of Almighty God was superior to and transcended the immensity of the Son and of the Holy Ghost; (although perhaps not far;) but yet transcended it to such a degree as that Almighty God neither ascended nor descended, and so neither appeared nor could appear in space,—not even under a figure¹,—in the manner in which the Son appeared." This is a mere begging the question. I have shewn by many, and those very clear testimonies, that those ancient doctors were of opinion that the nature and essence of God the Father and of the Son was absolutely the same, that their essential attributes were the same, and consequently that the immensity and omnipresence and invisibility of both were the same. Why does he give no answer to these testimonies? Surely, because he could not give any solid answer. It would be tedious to repeat all those testimonies here: the reader may see them in the third chapter of my fourth book *On the Subordination of the Son to the Father, &c.* Two only I will here repeat. The first of them is from Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* vii. p. 702^d, which has been already partly quoted; "The Son of God never quits His own watch-tower: not being divided or severed, nor passing from place to place; but being everywhere at every time, and not contained anywhere. [He is] all mind, all light of the Father, all eye, seeing all things, hearing all things, knowing all things, by His power searching out the powers. To Him the whole host of angels and of gods is subject, [even] to the Word of the Father, who has taken upon Himself the sacred dispensation, because of Him, who has subjected [them to Him].' Observe, he clearly teaches, that the Word, or Son of God, is not divided nor severed, passes not from place to place, is always everywhere, and nowhere contained. Nevertheless, he allows, that the Son of God Himself undertook the sacred dispensation, which the Father laid upon Him; that is to say, as well under the Old Testament, when He appeared to the prophets and holy men, having assumed either a human or other corporeal appearance, as also especially under the New Testament, when,

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^d [P. 831; cited in the Defence of the Nicæna Creed, p. 605, note ^f.]

having taken very man into the unity of His Person, He conversed with men upon earth.” The second testimony is from Tertullian, *Against Praxeas*, chap. 23, where he thus writes on the passage of Matthew, chap. xvii. [5]^e; “You have the Son on earth, you have the Father in heaven; this [however] is not a separation, but a divine arrangement. But we know, that God is even in the bottomless depths, and exists everywhere, but [then it is] by power and authority; that the Son also, being indivisible [from Him], is everywhere with Him. Nevertheless, in the economy itself, the Father willed that the Son should be held¹ on earth and Himself in heaven.” Here¹ haberi. he clearly teaches, that the Son of God is everywhere present equally with God the Father, which he also proves by this solid reason, that the Son is with His Father indivisible, and cannot be separated from Him; which reason all the Catholic fathers, both Antenicene and Postnicene, admitted. They all with one accord, profess that the Son is begotten of the Father’s essence, without any section or division; and that He was put forth² from the Father in such wise as never to² prolatum. be separated from the Father. Now if the omnipresence of God the Father be extended beyond the limits of the omnipresence of the Son of God, (my absurd opponent compels me to use absurd expressions myself,) then God the Father would be where God the Son is not, and consequently the Father and the Son would be separated from each other.

25. Mr. Clerke then says, that the ancient doctors were of opinion, that it was not God the Father who of old appeared to the patriarchs and other holy men, “because they judged that it could not have been consistent with the supreme and abundant³ pre-eminence of His attributes—and that not on³ profusa. account of anything unbecoming [in it], as Dr. Bull says; nor because the Father is ‘the fountain of the Trinity;’ for what has a fountain to do with local motion, except for the purpose of washing or drinking?” But, rejecting with abomination all profane ribaldry⁴, I answer, that those holy fathers were of a far different opinion; “for in their view, God the Father was never seen, nor could be seen of any man, not even through assumed forms. He had not originated from any beginning, nor was He subject to any one;

^e [P. 513; cited in the Defence of the Nicene Creed, p. 606, note ¹.]

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nor can He be said to have been sent by another, any more than to have been begotten of another. On the contrary, the Son of God, in that He is begotten of God the Father, on that ground at least is indebted to the Father for all His authority; as it is no less honourable to Him to be sent by the Father, than to be begotten of the Father. He is of the Father; through Him the Father created all things which¹ are in the world; moreover, through Him He afterwards¹ revealed Himself to the world. In the Most Holy Trinity, although there is no disparity of nature between the Father and the Son, yet certainly a kind of order² is there according to which the Father is the principle and head of the Son. Which order would be inverted, if the administration of the universe were effected by the Son through the Father."

26. In p. 114 Mr. Clerke treats of Athenagoras, and of the observations which I have made on Athenagoras; but his treatment of the subject is here, as usual, so confused, that I confess I do not know what, and indeed to what, I ought to make reply. And in truth, the sophist in his confusion seeks for ways of escape and places of concealment, in order to hide himself from the blows of an adversary. I entreat the impartial reader to peruse what I have advanced from Athenagoras in the Defence of the Nicene Creed, ii. 4. 9^f, where I have clearly shewn, that this most learned father did fully acknowledge the consubstantiality of the Son of God, as well as of the Holy Ghost. To this Mr. Clerke does not answer one syllable. Let [the reader] also peruse the testimonies which I have produced from Athenagoras in support of the eternity [of the Son], Defence of the Nicene Creed, iii. 5. 2^g. Let us see what answer he makes to them; "Dr. Bull,"

[401] he says, "quotes, p. 10^h, *πρώτου γέννημα εἶναι τῷ Πατρὶ, οὐχ ὡς γεγόμενον*, 'He is the First-offspring of the Father, not as having been brought into being:' here the words *πρώτου γέννημα*, 'First-offspring,' are inconsistent with the co-eternity in two ways, both as He is 'the First,' and also as He is the 'begotten Son.'" Now, who can have patience with a sophist, who has presumed to press the words of Athenagoras in opposition to the Son's eternity, when Athenagoras himself expressly observes, that they are not in the least repugnant

^f [P. 152.]

^g [P. 436.]

^h [c. 10, p. 287.]

to His co-eternity? We declare, says Athenagoras, that the Word or Son of God is the first offspring of the Father, οὐχ ὥς γενόμενον, “not as having been brought into being.” § 25, 26.
 What does Mr. Clerke observe on this? “For what purpose then,” he asks, “does Dr. Bull quote this passage? No doubt [he does so] for the sake of the words which follow—οὐχ ὥς γενόμενον, ‘not as having been brought into being,’ in which little clause, nearly the whole of his argument lies; the rest being simply expository and put together to ward off the weapons of opponents. But however much and often he boasts of the force of this word [γενόμενον], all its force will be dissipated by a gentle breath. I admit, that in this passage it signifies ‘made,’ which Athenagoras denies in the case of the Son; so far true; but afterwards Athenagoras explains himself, viz. as speaking of such a making, as is that of all the material things, and the angels, who (as Dr. Bull remarks,) he says ‘were made’ (γενόμενους), p. 27ⁱ. Athenagoras therefore means, that the Word was not ‘made,’ *i. e.* [not made] as the other creatures were, none of whom were produced of the essence of God.” But what man of a sound mind can suppose, that a most learned writer (such as Athenagoras evidently was) was so utterly devoid of wisdom as to think, that anything, which was produced¹ of God’s own¹ genitum. essence, could have been in any sense made, or a creature? It is a certain axiom, that whatsoever is begotten of God, that is, of God’s own essence, must necessarily be God. But the meaning of Athenagoras in the words οὐχ ὥς γενόμενον [“not as having been brought into being”] is most manifestly this, that the Word, or Son of God, when He proceeded forth from God to create all things by His power, was not then made, or had a beginning of His existence. And how does he prove this? “For from the beginning,” says he, “God, being eternal mind, Himself had within Himself, His Logos [Word, or Reason], being eternally possessed of Reason².” Here he² λογικός.
 deduces the eternal existence of the Word from His eternal and necessary cause—even the Reason and Intellect of God. For how absurd the sense which Mr. Clerke attaches to those words (namely that the Word was virtually in God, in respect of God’s essential Reason and Wisdom, as an attribute,

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¹ [c. 24. p. 303.]

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not as a distinct Person) is, I have shewn at length in my Defence of the Nicene Creed, § 5 of the chapter above quoted¹, to which I refer the reader.

27. In p. 117, Mr. Clerke, on the occasion of this passage of Athenagoras, and my explanation of it, attacks me as follows; “Dr. Bull was evidently compelled, I say compelled, to make a two-fold ‘generation’ of the Son before the creation of the world, (a thing unheard of, and strange [even] to those of his own opinion;) one, forsooth, properly so called, from everlasting, wherewith to defend the opinion of modern theologians; the other a ‘figurative’ one, [which consisted] in His being put forth a little before the creation of the world, in order that he may not forsake the primitive fathers, and run against¹ them one and all; of which two generations Dr. Bull must deservedly be considered the inventor.” I answer; if it were true, that I was the first to discover this distinction, I should have no cause to feel either shame or sorrow; for it is of great value in laying open the meaning of some ancient fathers, who have hitherto been thought, even by learned men, to have favoured the Arian doctrine. Besides, this distinction of the two-fold generation of the Word or Son of God, before the foundation of the world, throws light (and this is a consideration worthy of notice) upon those passages of the ancient doctors, in which they say, that the Son was begotten of God according to the Father’s will, *θελήσει et βουλῇ*, “by His purpose and counsel,”—expressions which theologians have spent much useless toil in reconciling with the Son’s eternal generation. Such phrases no doubt must be understood of that second generation, less properly so called, by which the Word, when God the Father willed, was as it were put forth from² Him, and went forth to create the universe. At the same time it is certain, that all those fathers who used these expressions, acknowledged another generation or putting forth of the Son, properly so called, which was both eternal and necessary. Indeed it is impossible (as I have in another place³ observed after Athanasius) that God can rightly be conceived as One, in such a sense as to be, or ever to have been, unipersonal⁴; since it must needs be, that God, who is eternal mind, should

¹ offendat.

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² quasi
editus est.

³ alibi.

⁴ μονο-
πρόσωπος.

have in Himself, and with ¹ Himself, His Logos or Word, § 26—28. and that, not such a one as the word of man, but living and ¹ apud. subsisting; which, by the very fact of being a living and subsisting Word, is a Person; and, moreover, as being the Word of ² God the Father, a divine Person distinct from the ² ex. Father. That, in consideration of this eternal generation or production, the Word might be called the Son of God, was correctly observed by some ancient writers. Thus speaks Tertullian ^k; “Every origin is a parent, everything which is produced from an origin is an offspring ³.” With Tertullian ³ progenies. agrees Athanasius, in Oration V. against the Arians ¹; “For if the Word be not of God, they might with reason have denied that He is Son; but since He is of God, how is it they do not see at once, that that which is from any one is the son of that from which also it is?” (ὅτι τὸ ἐκ τινος ὑπάρχον υἱὸς ἐστὶν ἐκείνου, ἐξ οὗ καὶ ἐστίν.) But my authorities for the distinction in question were men of great eminence, Zeno of Verona, the Emperor Constantine, the great Athanasius, [404] Rupert [abbot] of Tu, nay the Nicene fathers themselves, as I have fully and clearly shewn in the Defence of the Nicene Creed, iii. 9. What [Mr. Clerke] brings forward successively from Theophilus of Antioch, Novatian, and others, who make the same statements as Athenagoras respecting the generation of the Son of God, receives a clear light from these observations of ours on Athenagoras.

28. In p. 130, Mr. Clerke comes to the passage of Irenæus, ii. 49 ^m, in which he attributes to Christ ignorance of the day and hour of the last judgment; on which I have fully replied in the Defence of the Nicene Creed, ii. 5. 8 ⁿ, where I allowed indeed, that at first sight the words of Irenæus appeared to attribute ignorance to the Son of God, even considered most properly as the Son of God. I here add, that the holy father, carried away through an excessive reaction ⁴, and a vehement ⁴ ἐξ ἀμετρίας ἀνθολκῆς. zeal and eagerness to oppose the blasphemous Gnostics, which the best of men sometimes fall into, spoke with too little caution. But that Irenæus really supposed, that Christ, considered as God, was ignorant of anything, will never come

^k [Adv. Prax. cap. 8. p. 504. Def. Nic. Creed, p. 446, note ^a.]

¹ [Orat. iv. 15. vol. i. p. 628, cited ib.]

^m [c. 28. 8. p. 158.]

ⁿ [P. 174.]

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into the mind of any one, who knows Irenæus, and has attentively read his writings. No one assuredly has asserted in clearer terms than Irenæus the Son's most absolute divinity, equal to that of the Father. Moreover I have observed, that he expressly, in that very chapter in which he ascribes this ignorance to Christ, declares, "that the Spirit of the Saviour which is in Him searches all things, even the deep things of God." Where, by the Spirit which is in the Saviour, I have proved, from parallel passages of Irenæus, that His Divine Nature is denoted. But to no purpose is Mr. Clerke's answer on this point; "The words which Dr. Bull has quoted seem, from the passages which Gallasius has cited in the margin, (viz. 1 Cor. ii. 10, and xii. 4,) manifestly to refer to the Holy Spirit." For these passages no doubt speak of the Holy Ghost, the Third Person of the Godhead, who likewise searcheth all things. But what is this to the purpose? The question is, what Irenæus meant here by "the Spirit of the Saviour, which is in Him." We contend that he meant the Divine Nature in Christ, the Second Person of the Godhead, according to a usage which was indeed not his own merely, but that of other ancient doctors also, and even [found] in many passages of Scripture, as I have elsewhere shewn°. The reader however may see more observations of mine on this passage of Irenæus, in the chapter above quoted.

29. In p. 133 this very vain person plumes himself wonderfully, and boasts of another passage of Irenæus which I had not touched. "To my gigantic argument," says he, "from Irenæus, [derived] from the Son's 'dominion' over the Holy Ghost, Dr. Bull makes no answer; probably he overlooked that passage, which I am surprised at." His giant, however, is easily vanquished. The passage of Irenæus which this trifling writer alludes to, occurs in book iii. 6^p, and is as follows in the edition of Feuardent; "I therefore also invoke Thee, O Lord, God of Abraham and God of Isaac and God of Jacob (who also is Israel), Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the God who in the multitude of Thy mercies hast been well pleased with us, that we should

° See Defence of the Nicene Creed, i. 2. 5.

^p Et ego igitur invoco te, Domine Deus Abraham, et Deus Isaac, et Deus

Jacob, (qui est et Israel,) Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, Deus qui per multitudinem misericordiæ tuæ bene sensisti in nobis ut te cognoscamus, qui

know Thee who hast made heaven and earth, who art the Ruler over all things, who art the only and true God, above whom there is no other God, through our Lord Jesus Christ, in Thy Lordship also Thou art Lord of the Holy Spirit'.² On these words Feuardent comments as follows; 'An old MS. [has] *dominationem quoque donas Spiritus S.*, 'Thou also givest the Lordship of the Holy Spirit;' perhaps it ought to be read, *donationem*, &c. 'the gift of the Holy Spirit'. But whether it be the one reading or the other, you have, against the ancient and modern Arians, a confirmation of the Godhead of the Holy Ghost, eternal and consubstantial with the Father and the Son, of His majesty and dominion." Strange²! Feuardent derives a confirmation of the eternal Godhead of the Holy Ghost from the very passage out of which Mr. Clerke would prove, that the Holy Spirit is, in the view of Irenæus, a mere creature subject to the dominion of the Son of God. But the true reading is, *donationem quoque donas Spiritus S.*, as was partly acknowledged by Feuardent; but clearly demonstrated after a collation of MSS. by my very dear friend, the most learned J. Ernest Grabe, in his very finished edition of the works of Irenæus, whose note on the passage should by all means be consulted. This most unjust calumny of Mr. Clerke's against the holy martyr is not to be endured; for Irenæus fully acknowledged the Holy Ghost's most absolute Godhead, as I have proved by the clearest testimonies drawn from himself, Defence of the Nicene Creed, ii. 5. 9^r.

30. At length, in p. 135, Mr. Clerke comes to the conclusion of his work (and the end is indeed worthy of the whole performance³); "Let us now," he says, "review what has been advanced; what great accession has Dr. Bull brought to the support of his cause, by quoting about thirty fathers, of whom scarcely half have left us any writings which are undoubtedly genuine, (fancy however thirty out of as many thousand bishops,) to prove catholicity, *i. e.* the opinion of the

¹ dominatione quoque dominaris Spiritus Sancti.

² papæ!
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³ dignum sane patella operculum.

fecisti cœlum et terram, qui dominaris omnium, qui es solus et verus Deus, super quem alius Deus non est, per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, dominatione quoque dominaris Spiritus S.—[p. 181.]

¹ [The Benedictine edition reads, *dominationem quoque dona Sp. Sancti*: "Give also the governance of Thy Holy Spirit." B.; that is, "grant that Thy Holy Spirit may rule over us."]

² [P. 178.]

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'disputa-
tione.

majority of Christians from the Apostles' times and downwards? Let us hear Eusebius when speaking about bishops, Eccles. Hist. v. 22. 'Eleutherius (at Rome) was succeeded by Victor; after Julian at Alexandria came Demetrius; at Antioch Serapion the eighth in succession, at Cæsarea Theophilus, Narcissus at Jerusalem, Bacchylus at Corinth, and Polycrates at Ephesus, were deemed of high reputation among bishops. And in other places likewise many excellent prelates are mentioned about the same time.' My answer is, that I have never cited any writings of the ancients in defence of the Catholic faith, which, if any doubt were raised about them, I did not first prove by solid arguments to be really the works of the authors whose names they bear. Who doubts that there were very many celebrated bishops and doctors in the Church, besides those whom I have quoted, even though Eusebius made no mention of them? But how does this make in favour of Mr. Clerke and his party? He unquestionably meant his reader to suspect, that all of them, or at least most of them, perfectly agreed in opinion with the Unitarians, on the question of the Person of Christ; than which nothing is more false. I have shewn in my treatise¹ against Zwicker, that the Catholic view concerning Christ prevailed in the Church of Jerusalem, the mother of other Churches, from the very Apostles to the days of Adrian, by whom [that Church] was dispersed. I have proved by unexceptionable witnesses, Hegesippus and Irenæus, that the same doctrine descended by an unbroken tradition, in all the other Churches, from the beginning down to their own times. But Mr. Clerke proceeds, and says; "The same Eusebius also makes mention of many Unitarians, who were nearer to the Apostles, and who boasted of the Apostles, and the successors of the Apostles, before the time of Victor, as being (the greatest part of them) on their side. . . . And that they were esteemed highly as philosophers and mathematicians, whose names he also mentions, Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, Artemon, Paul of Samosata, Natalis, Beryllus, Theodotus, Asclepiodotus, Hermophilus, Apollonides," &c.

31. Surely Mr. Clerke must have thrown off all sense of shame, otherwise he never would have dared to set in opposition to the holy doctors and martyrs of the Catholic Church,

whose writings I have quoted, such infamous names as these. § 30—32.
Some of them lapsed from the Christian faith to Judaism.
The rest were the most abandoned heretics, except Natalis
and Beryllus, who although for a time they themselves indeed
embraced the God-denying heresy, yet returned both of them [408]
to the communion of the Catholic Church, and in it died.
All the rest, I say, have been condemned, as heretics, by the
universal Church. Mr. Clerke had previously expressed a
wish, that his soul might be with better theologians than are
the Trinitarians. Are these then his better theologians?
may God have mercy on the man.

32. At last Mr. Clerke closes his treatise with the following
words; "That I may now then, finally, conclude; although
we were to concede to Dr. Bull that his testimonies were
most valid, this would not be sufficient for us who know the
mystery of the great apostasy; [nor prevent] us from appeal-
ing from the Antenicene fathers to the Apostles." In what
manner Mr. Clerke and his friends in England have appealed
to the Apostles, and the Scriptures of the New Testament,
is but too well known to us. The passages of holy Scripture,
clearer than the light, produced by us in defence of the
Catholic faith, they either wrest in an intolerable way, or call
their authority in question, or else absolutely reject them.
I might confirm my statement with such instances, as would
strike all pious minds with horror. But I close these Ani-
madversions of mine, with a solemn warning to my readers,
but especially to students in sacred theology, expressed in
the words of the holy Apostle Peter at the very end of the
last chapter of his Second Epistle; "Ye, therefore, beloved,
seeing ye know these things before, beware lest ye also, being
led away with the error of the wicked, fall from your own
steadfastness. But grow in grace, and in the knowledge of
our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. To Him be glory both
now and for ever. Amen."

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OF

FATHERS AND OTHER WRITERS,

WHOSE WORKS ARE QUOTED,
OR REFERRED TO,

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The Roman figures denote the volume; the Arabic, the page.

(The editions here mentioned are referred to, except where it is otherwise specified.)

A.

- AMBROSE** of Milan, A.D. 374. [Ed. Bened. Paris. 1686—90. 2 vols. fol.] i. 19, 80, 163; ii. 563, 649; iii. 137.
- Anastasius**, the Librarian, A.D. 754. [Fabroti. Paris. 1649. fol.] i. 327, 332; ii. 473.
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